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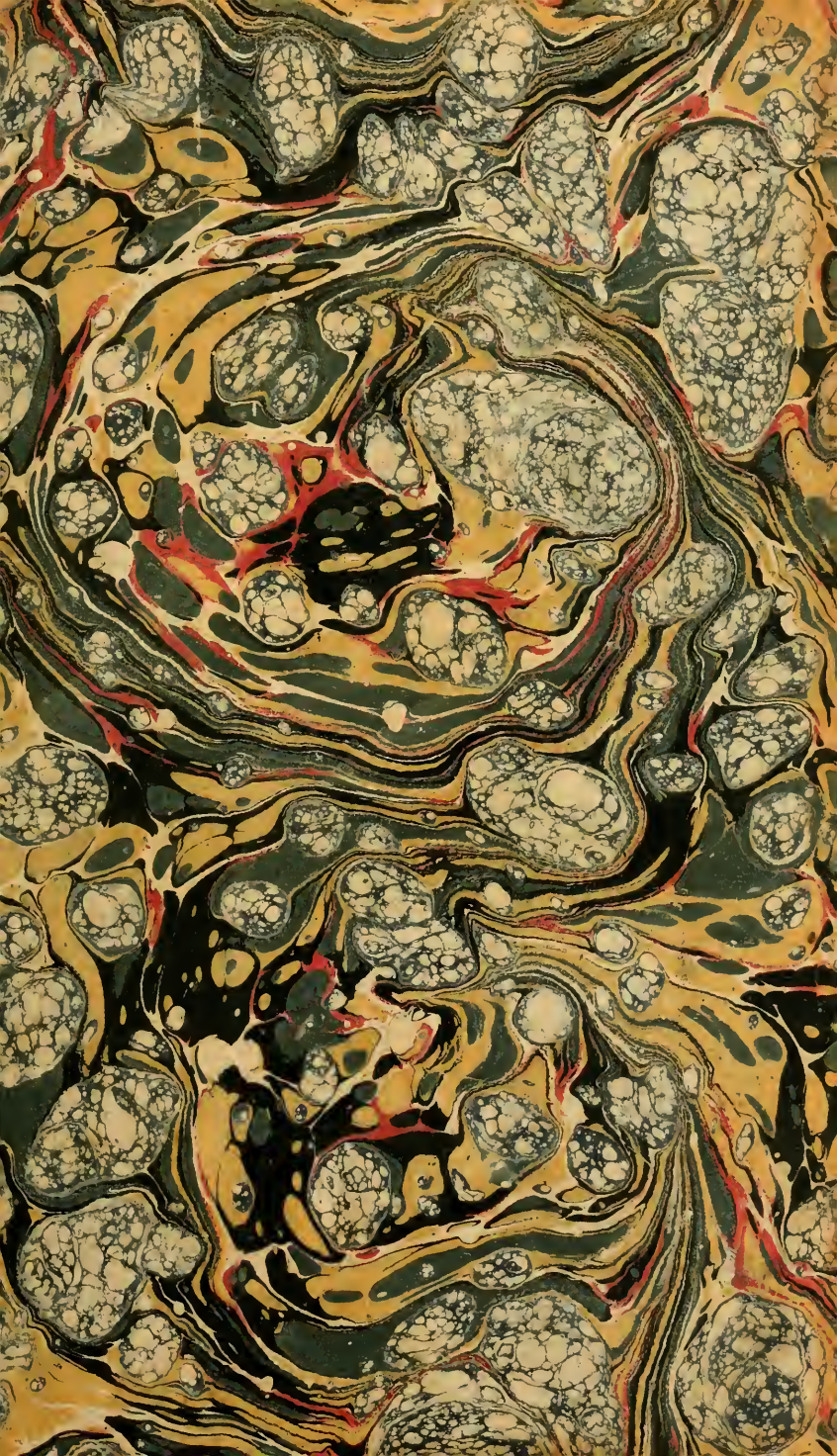


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1846




Thomas. Peregrine Courtenay.



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MEMOIRS
OF THE
REIGN OF GEORGE III.

FROM
THE TREATY OF AMIENS,
A. D. 1802,
TO THE TERMINATION OF THE REGENCY,
A. D. 1820.

BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON :
PRINTED FOR HURST, ROBINSON, AND CO.
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AND ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE, AND CO. EDINBURGH.
1824.

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PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.

HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

CONTINUED FROM
THE TREATY OF AMIENS,
A. D. 1802,
TO THE TERMINATION OF THE REGENCY,
A. D. 1820.
BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

VOL. XIII.

In Historia—ad veritatem cuncta referantur.—Cic. de Leg. L. 1.

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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE III.

BOOK XXXVII.

NEW Parliament convened Nov. 1802. Opposition to the Treaty of Amiens. Unprecedented Peace Establishment. Renewed Discussions with France. Recall of the British Ambassador. Volunteer Associations. War declared against Holland. Insurrection in Dublin. Invasion of Hanover. Conquests in the West Indies. Mr. Pitt re-instated as First Minister. Conspiracy against the French Government. Execution of the Duc D'Enghien. Napoleon Bonaparte declared Emperor of the French. Hostilities commenced against Spain. Pacific Overture of Napoleon. Impeachment of Lord Melville. Petition from the Catholics of Ireland. Review of Transactions in India. Marquis Cornwallis Governor General.

THE second Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland was convened November 13, 1802, and the influence of government being little exerted on the late election, the

BOOK
XXXVII.
1802.
New Par-
liament
convened.

BOOK
XXXVII.

1802.
King's
Speech,
Nov. 23.

result was considered as favourable to the whigs. In his speech from the throne, November 23, the King expressed himself in the language of mystery and uncertainty. "In my intercourse with foreign powers," said he, "I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace. It is, nevertheless, impossible for me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other states are connected with our own; and I cannot therefore be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual state of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of my people."

Marquis of
Abercorn.

In animadverting upon the address in the upper house, moved by lord Arden and seconded by the celebrated viscount Nelson, the marquis of Abercorn affirmed that the conduct of ministers had placed the kingdom in the most awful and critical situation it had ever known. It was true that we preserved our religion, laws, and liberties, whole and entire. Still there were many subjects of complaint. Millions upon millions had been sent out of the country. Every branch and function of the state had been surrendered into the hands of

administration. Immense weight and power had been transferred from their proper place ; and the antient aristocracy had been overwhelmed by a new aristocracy, bearing the name of a monied interest. But the question at present was, whether we should prepare for war, or throw ourselves upon the will of that person who now ruled over the fate of France.

BOOK
XXXVII.
1802.

The earl of Carlisle pronounced the present ministers to be incapable of executing the functions which they had undertaken. The tone now adopted, he feared, had come too late. The intemperate eagerness they had shewn for peace was their original error, and the source of those calamities they had since experienced.

Earl of
Carlisle.

Lord Grenville declared that the measures of preparation now proposed were indispensable, in consequence of a peace in which all concern for the interest of Europe, and all regard for the honour of this country, were abandoned. Subsequent to the signature of the preliminaries, ministers had seen the first consul extort new concessions from Portugal. The names of the king of Sardinia, or the prince of Orange, had not been mentioned in the preliminaries ; and the definitive treaty had given Piedmont to France, and with it the sovereignty of Italy. Martinico, Malta, the Cape,

Lord Gren-
ville.

BOOK
XXXVII.

1802.

every thing was resigned, and do we now presume to remonstrate against the fortune of Parma or of Switzerland? It is the want of energy, of plan, of foresight, that subjugates the genius of Britain before the first consul of France. It is as if ministers had conspired with the adversary to bind Great Britain hand and foot. The ruin which they have prepared is upon us.

Lord Grenville was temperately answered by lord Hobart, who observed, “that if France *had* extended her dominion over the greatest part of the Continent, this had been effected long before the noble lord retired from office; and if such aggrandisement could not be prevented by the late ministers, they had no right to blame their successors, because they were unable to subvert that power which had been previously established.” The address finally passed without a division.

Mr. Fox.

In the house of commons ministers received the powerful support of Mr. Fox. The treaty of Amiens, he observed, had received the almost unanimous approbation of parliament. Had any thing since occurred which could justify the recommencement of hostilities in the hope of retaking those places which we had so lately restored? A strong case indeed must

be made out before this could be admitted, after all the disasters which had been sustained during a wild and destructive contest, destitute, moreover, as we now were of all Continental support. He agreed with ministers "that Europe was in a very unsatisfactory state." The immense aggrandisement of France was, doubtless, a subject of deep regret; and it formed a grand cause of accusation against those by whose obstinacy and misconduct it was obtained. Peace, he believed, was the wish of the people; but if it were true that the community were desirous of war, as had been asserted, he acknowledged for his own part, that he had rather the blood of mankind should flow to gratify the ambition of an Alexander, than to fill the coffers of a cold, unfeeling, calculating body of merchants; and he deprecated any rash step that should deprive us of those inestimable blessings which were the natural concomitants of peace."

BOOK
XXXVII.
1802.

Mr. Canning, in animated terms, insisted on the hostile views of the French government relative to this country; and on the necessity of vigilant and vigorous preparations to meet that spirit of rancour, which only waited for a favourable opportunity to display itself in action; ministers ought, therefore, to be found

Mr. Can-
ning.

BOOK
XXXVII.1802.
Lord
Hawkes-
bury.

in a situation of defence equal to the exigency.

Lord Hawkesbury declared, “that he could not coincide with those who would have this country the knight errant, or Drawcansir, in every case of contest on the Continent. He allowed that the interference of France in the affairs of Switzerland had been attended with gross partiality; but nothing had occurred which could warrant a renewal of hostilities—for how could Continental projects be followed up without Continental support? It was better to take the chances of peace than of war, and to reserve our resources for future and more successful exertion. He cordially joined in the praise of Mr. Pitt’s abilities, and the signal services rendered by him to the country; but no abilities could ensure success; and towards the close of his administration a feeling of dismay and despondency never before known, pervaded the whole empire.

Mr. Wind-
ham.

Mr. Windham, in a vehement declamation, affirmed and deplored that destruction impended over us. Europe might be said to be in ruins. This country seemed to touch the moment of dissolution. Upon the present system of amity with France, her fall seemed inevitable. What was become of Holland? of Greece? of Switzerland? of Modena and

Parma? All swallowed up in the inordinate encroachments of the first consul. Germany was no longer Germany. England would soon be in the same situation. In times past, France was formidable with a population of twenty-four millions; but now her power was gigantic and tremendous. War, he thought, could not be far off; and he believed it was much safer to anticipate the blow, than to defer it. He advised ministers to appeal to the high-minded and proud of heart. At all events, whether their efforts to save the country succeeded or not, they would save their characters. They would not go down like the *Augustuli*, but would show that they dared to adopt those measures which the danger so loudly called for.

BOOK
XXXVII.
1802.

Mr. Addington professed without hesitation, that were he to take a retrospect of his past life, he should always consider that portion of it as most gratifying which comprehended the share he had in making the late peace. He acknowledged the political aggrandisement of France; but it must be something more than the arguments he had then heard, which would induce him to think that war would tend to the reduction of her power. All the dangers now pointed out arose, as they were told, from a state of peace; but it re-

Mr. Addington.

BOOK
XXXVII.
1802.

mained to show in what respects war would remedy the evil. A disposition appeared to rouse the passions, to alarm the fears, and pique the pride of this country, in order to force us back into war without any adequate motive.

Although the address was at length voted without a division, great and manifest impression was made on the House, and the public at large, by the speeches of the war party; and the contagion extended to not a few members of the old opposition.

Debate on
the Army
Estimates.

On the 8th of December Mr. Yorke, secretary at war, proposed a peace establishment of 130,000 men, exclusive of 50,000 already voted for the naval service. This motion was not only supported by lord Temple and Mr. Canning, from whom it might be expected, but with equal warmth by Mr. Sheridan, in a speech much applauded. "I find," said this brilliant orator, "a disposition in some gentlemen to rebuke any man who shall freely declare his opinion respecting the first consul of France. He has discovered that we all belong to the Western family. I confess, I feel a sentiment of deep indignation when I hear that this *scrap of nonsense* was uttered to one of the most enlightened of the human race. To this family party I do not wish to belong. He

Mr. Sheridan.

may toss a sceptre to the king of Etruria to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him in the corner; but my humble apprehension is, that though in the tablet and volume of his mind there may be some marginal note about cashiering the king of Etruria, yet the whole text is occupied about the destruction of this country. This is the first vision that breaks upon him through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night to whatever deity he addresses it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet, to the goddess of battles or the goddess of reason. Look at the map of Europe, from which France was said to be expunged, and now see nothing but France. If the ambition of Bonaparte be immeasurable, there are abundant reasons why it should be progressive."

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XXXVII.
1802.

Mr. Fox declared in the most decisive terms Mr. Fox. against a peace establishment, which would make peace itself scarcely less ruinous than war. "What," said this great statesman, "were the most glorious wars in which this country had been engaged during the preceding century? Doubtless the war of the Succession, and that stiled the Seven-years' war. Now it was certain that previous to these wars our peace establishment was lower than before the wars which followed them. If we com-

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1802.

pare the state of the French navy with our own, we must surely acknowledge that there can be no well-grounded cause of alarm; and upon the foundation of the old army, as many more troops might be added in a short time as any emergency might require. A few years of peace and moderate establishments would enable us to throw off a considerable part of that debt, which in war was called the best ally of France; the same lapse of time, if properly improved, would fortify us in Ireland; a point where it was evident we were now most vulnerable. Economy, not high establishments, formed our best security from the danger which threatened us. If we had 25,000 men less at present, we should in return have 25,000,000 more in a short time to enable us to repel any eventual aggression.”—The motion nevertheless finally passed without a division.

The dilemma in which the ministry now found themselves involved, was very perplexing. If the peace of Amiens had not been supposed by them to rest on a firm basis, the sacrifices made to obtain it were far too great; if, on the contrary, it promised to be solid and permanent, whence arose the necessity of so vast an establishment? Mr. Fox’s estimate of the political ability of ministers differed little from that of lord Grenville; but peace

having been made, he was far from approving the renewal of the war. The commotions in Switzerland had terminated in a satisfactory arrangement, and the annexation of Piedmont to France, who was in full possession of that province at the signing of the treaty, was merely formal: Far from protesting against the usurpations of France beyond the Alps, Italy was not so much as mentioned by the English negotiators at the congress of Amiens.

BOOK
XXXVII.

1802.

In vindication of ministers it was alleged, “ that the unfortunate negotiations at Lisle confined and circumscribed every project, or overture, they could hazard. The project of Lisle was a circle out of which the successors of lord Grenville could not tread.” But that lord Hawkesbury did not think himself confined to this circle, appeared from his high original propositions. Since the negotiation at Lisle, the naval power of France had been broken by the victories of Camperdown and the Nile; while Minorca, Malta, Elba, Surinam, Goree, Curaçoa, &c. had been added to the British conquests. Yet in the project of lord Grenville, not only Trinidad and Ceylon, but the Cape and Cochin were included. Nor did France complain of these demands as unreasonable. The negotiation proved abortive from quite a different cause. As to “ the

Cursory
Remarks
by Mr. B.
B—t. p.24.

P. 25.

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XXXVII.

1802.

constant, active, and zealous support," said to be promised by the late to the present ministers, it necessarily implied its own limitation, and was annulled the moment that the latter ceased to merit it.

Wilson's
Expedition
to Egypt.

About the time that general Andreossi arrived in London, appeared a remarkable publication entitled "A History of the Expedition to Egypt," by sir Robert Wilson, an officer of distinguished gallantry in the Egyptian army, exhibiting, in the course of an interesting narrative, a dark and overwrought portrait of the first consul, without a single relief to the shades of the picture. This popular production being dedicated to the duke of York, and presented in form to the King, was most graciously received; and the courtiers and court journals who had extolled Suwaroff as the greatest of modern heroes, thought no reproaches too vehement against the bloody conqueror of Jaffa. This flagrant indiscretion gave rise to serious consequences.

1803.

Towards the close of January 1803, lord Whitworth held a conference with the French minister Talleyrand, who after long silence pronounced a bitter philippic against the English press; and finished by asking what were his Majesty's intentions with regard to Malta; intimating that the article of guarantee was

fulfilled when all the powers therein named had been invited in due form to accede; which was the utmost that the contracting powers of the treaty of Amiens could contract for.

BOOK
XXXVII.
1803.

Three days after this a singular paper appeared in the official journal stiled the “*Moniteur*,” purporting to be a report of colonel Sebastiani, who had been sent some months before, when differences ran high between France and England, on a foreign mission professedly commercial, but also including topics military and political. Sebastiani had embarked September 1802, for the East, and the publication of this report was evidently intended to counteract the impression made by the history of sir Robert Wilson.

Report of
Sebastiani.

M. Sebastiani states his arrival in Alexandria, ^{*Ibid.*} October 16; and agreeably to his instructions he demanded of general Stuart the speedy evacuation of that city; but the general informed him he had received no orders to that effect. Sebastiani then made a visit to the Pacha and Capitan Bey, who expressed great partiality to the French. On the 26th he entered Cairo, conducted from Boulah by an honorary escort of 500 men, sent by the Pacha of Cairo; who in his subsequent conferences with the colonel professed himself penetrated with gratitude to the first consul. In an as-

BOOK
XXXVII.

1803.

sembly of the principal scheiks, the conversation turned upon the interest which the first consul took in Egypt, on his power, his glory, and his esteem for the learned scheiks; their answers expressed an enthusiastic attachment to his person.

Ibid.

The Pacha showed him a letter he had just received from general Stuart, inclosing an order of the first consul, dated August 1799, recalling to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Constantinople was once tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the eastern empire of the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the Pacha to consider the spirit of that order. "I was indignant," says M. Sebastiani, "to find that a soldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate *assassination* by means of such an insinuation."

From this revolting and preposterous charge, M. Sebastiani makes a sudden transition to the monks of Mount Sinai, from whom he received a deputation; and then back to those of the Propaganda at Cairo, who performed a solemn *Te Deum* for the prosperity of the first consul."

Ibid.

On the 3d of November he set out for Damietta, and had the good fortune to meet in his route with none but persons extremely

attached to France. “The chiefs, merchants, people in Egypt,” says he, “all like to talk of the first consul; all offer prayers for his happiness.” On the 14th of November he left Damietta, and arrived in five days at Acre. The colonel immediately addressed a letter to Djezzar Pacha; soon after which the dragoman of Djezzar came to conduct him to the palace. After some conversation, the Pacha said, “I desire the commissary you may send shall reside at Seide, as that is the most commercial port in my dominions. I highly esteem the French. In stature Bonaparte is small, but he is, nevertheless, the greatest of mankind.” M. Sebastiani quitted Acre Nov. 21, and set sail for Zante, where he assembled the constituted authorities, and other principal persons, at the house of the governor. His speech, exhorting them to forbearance and harmony, was received, as he tells us, with enthusiasm; “I do not stray from the truth,” says he, “when I assure you that the islands of the Ionian Sea will declare themselves French as soon as opportunity shall offer itself.” A statement follows of the English, Mamelouk, and Turkish forces in Egypt; asserting that a great misunderstanding reigns between general Stuart and the Pacha of Cairo; that the Mamelouks are entirely mas-

BOOK
XXXVII.
1803.

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XXXVII.

1803.

Dispatch
of Lord
Hawkes-
bury, Feb.
9, 1803.

ters of Upper Egypt, and that 6000 French would at present be enough to conquer the whole country."

This boastful report would be utterly unworthy of historic attention, were it not for the extraordinary consequences of which it was immediately productive; as apparent in the dispatch of lord Hawkesbury (Feb. 9, 1803) to lord Whitworth, in which the following singular maxim is advanced—"that every treaty or convention being negotiated with reference to the actual state of possession, if that state be materially altered by the act of either party, the other has a right, *according to the law of nations*, to require compensation for any essential difference in their relative situations." Thus the permanence of treaties is made to depend upon future contingencies, and the ceaseless fluctuation of human events, and not at all upon the good faith with which they are executed. Upon this principle, France would have been justified in 1765, in demanding a compensation for Bengal, or declaring the treaty of 1763 null and void.

Ibid.

Waving, however, the farther discussion of this extraordinary claim, lord Hawkesbury declares that his Majesty would have been ready to carry into effect *the true intent and spirit* of the Xth article of the treaty of Amiens,

had not the attention of government been attracted by the report of colonel Sebastiani, containing insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation; discovering, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his Majesty's dominions. But thus circumstanced, his Majesty feels it necessary distinctly to declare that it will be impossible to enter into further discussion respecting Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanation." With respect to the nature of the injury sustained, or the satisfaction required, the dispatch of the English minister observed a mysterious silence. The ambassador therefore, on being interrogated by M. Talleyrand on these points, could only with due discretion answer, "that in the discussion about to take place, the English government would be animated with a sincere desire of maintaining peace."

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By request of the first consul, the ambassador repaired to the Tuilleries on the evening of the 18th of February, and in this audience the impetuous and impatient genius of this extraordinary personage conspicuously displayed itself. He said, "It was a matter of infinite disappointment to him that the treaty of Amiens had been productive, instead of friendship, the natural effect of peace, only of increasing jea-

Dispatch
of Lord
Whitworth
Feb. 21,
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lousy and mistrust; asserting, that every wind which blew from England brought enmity and hatred against him. Reverting to Egypt, he observed, that had he felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have sent 25,000 men to Aboukir a month ago, in defiance of the 4000 British in Alexandria; adding, that, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by an arrangement with the Porte. He expatiated on the natural force of the two countries; France, with an army of 480,000 men, England, with a fleet which made her mistress of the seas. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. That if he had not felt the enmity of the British government on every occasion since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate; but nothing had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government." Lord Whitworth well observed, "that after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail; but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually sub-

side, if not kept up by the policy of either party.”

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On the 22d of February the annual *Exposé*, 1803.
or state of the French republic, was presented Exposé of
to the legislative assembly. — “The govern- France,
ment,” says this declaration, “guarantees to Feb. 1803.
the nation the peace of the Continent; and it
is permitted to entertain a hope of the con-
tinuance of maritime peace. For its preserva-
tion the government will do every thing com-
patible with national honour, connected with
the strict execution of treaties. Five hun-
dred thousand men shall be ready to under-
take the defence of France, and avenge its
injuries. *The government says, with conscious
pride, that England, single-handed, cannot main-
tain a conflict against France.* But we have
better hopes. France and England, rendering
their happiness reciprocal, will deserve the
gratitude of the whole world.”

It is manifest that Bonaparte still aimed to practise upon the fears of the English ministers, who, now passing from one extreme to the other, were eager to redeem their character from the reproach of pusillanimity, by resorting to measures of rashness and violence. In this temper of mind, the menaces thus thrown out would operate as fresh incentives to hostility; and the resentment, or rather

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the rage of the nation, was excited to the utmost height, by the puerile, ill-timed, and vain-glorious boast, that England, *single-handed*, was unequal to the conflict. Yet the first consul, in his late conversation with lord Whitworth, acknowledged, “ that a descent was the only means of offence he had; and the chances an hundred to one against its success.” But England had her *conscious pride* as well as France; and the tide of popularity throughout the kingdom from this moment, set with irresistible force in favour of war.

Dispatch of
Ld. H--ry,
Feb. 28,
1803.

Lord Hawkesbury, in his dispatch of Feb. 28, plainly says, “ that sufficient as the considerations relative to the increased dominion, power, and influence of France, might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct his Majesty had determined to adopt, they have received additional force from the views recently manifested by the French government; and that Malta will not be evacuated until substantial security has been provided for those objects which might be endangered by the removal of the troops.” Conformably to this determination, the governor of the island, sir Alexander Ball, early in the month of March refused to surrender it to the formal requisition of M. Thomasi, the new grand master.

To a proposition from M. Talleyrand, of a general guarantee of the Ottoman dominions, including Egypt, lord Whitworth declared, “that this would not be deemed sufficient.”—“What then,” said the French minister, “is the security you require?” “This,” the ambassador told him, “must be the subject of the negotiation on which the English government was willing to enter;” adding his earnest wish “that it should be conducted on both sides in the spirit of conciliation.” At the next meeting M. Talleyrand declared, “that the first consul, far from wishing to carry matters to extremity, was desirous *of discussing fairly, and without passion*, a point which he admitted to be of importance to both countries; saying, “that the first consul would sacrifice his own feelings to the preservation of peace; and henceforth seek to augment his glory by improving and consolidating the internal situation of the country, rather than by adding to its possessions.”

According to the ideas of both ministers, therefore, the negotiation had not yet commenced; and had those full powers, which are too rarely entrusted to an ambassador, been vested in lord Whitworth, the ability and address of that accomplished nobleman would

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Dispatch
of Lord
Whitworth
March 5,
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in all probability have brought the existing differences to a happy termination. Indeed, had the first consul harboured any serious design against Egypt, scarcely would he have published his intention in the *Moniteur*.

King's
Message
to Parlia-
ment,
March 8,
1803.

Previous, however, to the arrival of this dispatch, the English ministers had advised the King to send, March 8th, the following message to parliament—"G. R. His Majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that, as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. Though the preparations to which his Majesty refers are avowedly directed to colonial service, yet as discussions of great importance are now subsisting between his Majesty and the French government, the result of which must at present be uncertain, his Majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion that whilst they partake of his Majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his Majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require, for supporting the ho-

nour of his crown, and the essential interests of his people.”

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Dispatch
of Lord
Whitworth
March 14,
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This unprecedented resolution to arm at the outset of a negotiation, and under the false colour of military preparations which had no existence, excited the utmost amazement at Paris. In reply to lord Whitworth's endeavours to convince M. Talleyrand that this step was merely precautionary, the French minister acknowledged “that the first consul was greatly irritated, but would not lose sight of the interests of humanity. If England wished to discuss fairly, he wished the same; that if England prepared for war, he would do the same.” M. Talleyrand then produced a paper, “not absolutely official,” evidently proceeding, however, from the pen of the first consul. In the language of intimidation, now entirely misplaced, it imported, “that if satisfactory explanation did not take place, *it was natural* that the first consul should march 20,000 men into Holland. Also *it was natural* that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover, at Calais, and on different points of the coast; that the French troops now in Switzerland should remain there; and a fresh force be sent into Italy, &c.” But these acts of violence would operate as powerful incitements to a new war on the Continent; which

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the English ministers, now once more assuming the character of the champions of Christendom, ardently wished.

Ibid.

On Sunday, March 13, in the midst of a brilliant court held at the Tuilleries, the first consul accosted lord Whitworth in visible agitation.—“You are determined, then, to go to war?” said he.—“No,” replied the ambassador, “we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.” The first consul then turning to count Marcoff and the chevalier Azara, exclaimed aloud, “The English are resolved upon war; they no longer respect treaties.”—“Why these armaments?” again addressing himself to the English ambassador. “Against whom these measures of precaution? I have not a single vessel of the line in the ports of France.” The ambassador expressed the wishes of his court to maintain a good intelligence with France. “You must, then, respect treaties,” he exclaimed with vehemence. Lord Whitworth wisely refraining from farther discourse, the first consul at length retired, repeating the words “*Malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas les traités; ils en seront responsables à toute l’Europe.*”

Memorial
of General
Andreossi,
March 29,
1803

Though the English government had hazarded a measure so decisive as the King’s message, no specific terms had yet been proposed to

France. Matters remained, therefore, in an almost dormant state, till on the 29th of March general Andreossi transmitted a note to lord Hawkesbury, containing a positive denial that Great Britain was menaced by preparations in the ports of France. "Can a state of difficulties," said the ambassador, "spring up unawares, without commencement, without progression, and leading, without distinction, to an appeal to arms, before all the means of conciliation have been exhausted? Lord H. mentions the report of a French colonel. The answer is obvious. A colonel in the English army has published a work filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies. The publicity of the report of colonel Sebastiani was at once a refutation and reparation which the French army have a right to expect. The first consul will not take up the defiance given by England to France."

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Lord Hawkesbury's reply to this memorial was couched in general terms; but on the 4th of April, the English secretary wrote to lord Whitworth, "that it was essential to bring the subsisting discussions to an issue. If the French government persist in the demand of Malta, the ambassador is directed to announce his speedy departure; or, if they shew a readiness to enter into discussion, to lay before them the

Dispatch
of Lord
Hawkes-
bury,
April 4,
1803.

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plan of an arrangement which would meet the ideas of his Majesty's ministers, and at the same time *entirely save the honour* of the French government."

This project consisted of four articles; the first of which imported, that the island of Malta should remain in perpetuity to Great Britain. The second required the immediate evacuation of Holland and Switzerland. The third *confirmed* the isle of Elba to France, and recognized the king of Etruria. The fourth acknowledged the Italian and Ligurian republics, on condition that a provision be made in Italy for the king of Sardinia.

Dispatch
of Lord
Whitworth
April 9,
1803.

In the ensuing conference with M. Talleyrand, the ambassador withholding for the present the extent of these imperious demands, entered merely into the general question of satisfaction, respecting which the French minister proposed a new convention in order to regulate the points untouched by the treaty of Amiens. As Italy had no part in that treaty, a fair basis of accommodation now presented itself; and this was immediately communicated by lord Whitworth to England.

Dispatch
of Lord
Hawkes-
bury,
April 9,
1803.

Peremptory orders were in return sent to produce the project without farther delay: and on this occasion lord Hawkesbury observed, "that the greatest part of the funds assigned

to the support of the order of St. John, have been sequestrated, in direct repugnance to the spirit and *letter* of the treaty of Amiens. Also two of the principal powers invited as guaranties, have refused their accession, unless the clause relative to the Maltese inhabitants were cancelled." But on the subject of sequestration the treaty was silent, and could not now be made to speak. The entire revenues of the order were, however, notoriously inadequate to the defence of the island against the apprehended ambition of France. Even the guaranties so anxiously solicited, added nothing to its real security, which depended solely on the mighty power of Britain, and that was sufficient.

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In consequence, doubtless, of the reluctance ^{Ibid.} of lord Whitworth to offer the *projet* in its original form, and the plain intimation in his dispatch, that it would not be accepted, lord Hawkesbury declared, "that his Majesty would consent to an arrangement by which Malta should remain in his occupation for a term of years not less than ten, on condition that his Sicilian majesty would cede the sovereignty of the isle of Lampedosa for a valuable consideration; Malta at the end of ten years to be given up, not to the order of St. John, but to the inhabitants."

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Dispatch
of Lord
Whitworth
April 20,
1803.

The negotiation was now prosecuted with renewed hope and great address by lord Whitworth; and Joseph Bonaparte, who had been recently joined with Talleyrand, assured the ambassador, in an interesting conference held April 18th, “that the term of years for which Malta might be ceded would be speedily settled. It would, however, be necessary to hold out the advantages which the British government would be willing to offer in return.” This was the moment for reciprocal concession; and in reference to this proposition the ambassador says, “Were the necessity of expedition less urgent, I might, perhaps, hope to bring the discussion to even a more favourable issue.” The return apparently expected by the French negotiators as a salvo for the honour of France, was the recognition of the new governments in Italy. But the instructions of the ambassador leaving nothing to his discretion, the negotiation took a very unfavourable turn; and no overture having been made from the first consul, lord Whitworth in chagrin wrote to the English secretary to desire that he might be furnished with an ultimatum.

Dispatch
of Lord
Hawkes-
bury,
April 23,
1803.

Lord Hawkesbury in his reply (April 23,) strangely tells the ambassador “that there was no occasion for this reference; and signifies his Majesty’s pleasure that he should communicate

officially to the French government that he had gone, in point of concession, the full extent of his instructions; and if an arrangement cannot be thereupon concluded, he was to depart for England, and in no case to remain in Paris more than seven days."

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In the interval, M. Talleyrand had signified from the first consul, that he would upon no terms hear of a perpetual or temporary possession of Malta; but to the cession of Lampedosa from the king of Sicily he did not take upon him to object. On the arrival of lord Hawkesbury's letter, the ambassador, as directed, communicated officially (April 26) the contents to M. Talleyrand; and that minister, as a matter of regular course, desired the *ultimatum* of the English court in writing. This was what the ambassador himself had not been able to obtain from lord Hawkesbury, whose instructions, to which alone he referred, were vague and various. Lord Whitworth replied, therefore, "that he was not authorized to give such ultimatum; and he would not take the responsibility upon himself." M. Talleyrand forcibly urged that verbal and fugitive conversations were insufficient for the discussion of such immense interests, in which no expression can be indifferent. No other than a verbal notification was obtainable, and the

Dispatch
of Lord
Whitworth,
April 23,
1803.

Ibid.
April 27.

French
Official
Papers.

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Conven-
tion be-
tween
France and
America,
April 30,
1803.

Dispatches
of Lord
Whitworth
April 27,
and 29,
1803.

ambassador's departure was fixed for the 3d of May.

Three days only intervening after this conference (April 30), a convention was signed between France and America, conformably to which Louisiana, recently ceded by Spain, was transferred to the United States for the sum of 3,000,000 dollars. On the evening previous to the proposed departure of lord Whitworth, he received a note from the French minister, again complaining of the refusal of a written ultimatum, and suggesting, as a fresh testimony of the great value attached by the first consul to peace, a joint reference to Spain and Holland, and the powers who had guaranteed the article relative to Malta. As England would in the mean time have been left in possession of the island, this proposition was by no means unfavourable to the views of the court of London; but the English ministers had already pledged themselves to parliament that the negotiation should be brought to a short issue. And when M. Talleyrand expressed his surprize and regret at the notice given by the ambassador, saying, "that at all events the first consul would not recal his ambassador, lord Whitworth replied, *"that he was recalled on the principle that even actual war was preferable to the state of suspense in which England, and indeed all*

Europe, had been kept for so long a space of time." BOOK XXXVII.
 A strange principle, which could put days of suspense in the balance against months and years of calamity! 1803.

The ambassador having demanded his passports, another note arrived from M. Talleyrand, May 3d, apologizing for the postponement of them, and expressing "his deep regret at the prospect of a war, which must be accompanied with such heavy calamities, and the object of it so insignificant—the possession of a miserable rock only being in question. He then offers on the part of the first consul, "that Malta shall be placed in the hands of any one of the guaranteeing powers till France and England have come to an agreement respecting it." This proposition lord Whitworth, "to avoid the reproach of precipitation," chose to refer to the English government, by whom it was peremptorily rejected. A written ultimatum was, however, at length sent, with an order to depart in *thirty-six hours* if it were not accepted. It imported, 1st. The cession of Lampedosa. 2d. The occupation of Malta for ten years. 3d. The withdrawment of the French troops from Holland. 4th. The recognition of the Italian states. 5th. The evacuation of Switzerland. 6th. A territorial provision in Italy for the king of Sardinia. This

Ibid.
May 4,
1803.

Ultimatum
of Great
Britain,
May 7,
1803.

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1803.

Lord
Whit-
worth's
Dispatch,
May 12,
1803.

ultimatum, so different from what lord Whitworth was authorized to frame, and which constituted so important a supplement to the treaty of Amiens, was transmitted (May 10th) *in writing* to M. Talleyrand. At the final conference next day, lord Whitworth agreed to receive a counter-project from the French minister, which not arriving in the few hours allowed, the ambassador renewed his demand of passports. Previous to their being expedited, M. Talleyrand desired to correct a mistake of the English court, namely, "that the emperor of Russia, stiled by lord Hawkesbury the only sovereign to whom his Majesty was disposed to assign the temporary occupation of Malta, would not consent to such proposal; the ambassador, count Marcoff, having just received positive intelligence to the contrary."

Memorial
of M. Tal-
leyrand,
May 14,
1803.

Lord Whitworth having no alternative, merely acknowledged the receipt of this note, and repeated his demand of passports, which arriving the same evening, he set out without farther delay. While actually on his journey, a memorial of length was transmitted to him from M. Talleyrand, drawn with uncommon force and ability,—“Where is the power,” says the French minister, “which, placed as France has been, would have submitted to conditions dictated at the commencement of the negotia-

tion; and rather announced by the noise and menaces of war, than proposed as the means of reconciling the rights and interests of the two states. After two whole months of offensive provocation, when the French government evinced the intention and wish only of considering the means which might be proposed to conciliate and satisfy the British government, it was then that verbally his excellency lord Whitworth made, by order of his government, the following demands—

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* * * * *

The undersigned will venture to assert, that there is no example on record of so imperious an ultimatum.

Of the written demands finally presented, M. Talleyrand says, “ they exhibit pretensions increasing in proportion to the moderation of the French government. At first, England consented to the preservation of the order of Malta; to-day, and for the first time, she demands the abolition of the order, and this must be agreed to in thirty-six hours. The undersigned repeats the proposition of giving up Malta to one of the three guaranteeing powers.” Subsequent to the above, and as a last effort, an unconditional offer was made of Malta to England, on condition that France should retain Otranto and Tarentum. In the

Parliamentary Debates, May 20, 1803.

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Debates on
the King's
Message,
March 8.

message of the first consul to the legislative body, May 20th, he says, "The negotiations are interrupted, and we are ready to fight if we are attacked." Nor was the ambassador, general Andreossi, as yet recalled.

The royal message of March 8th, had been received in both houses of parliament, as well as by the public at large, not only with approbation, but almost with acclamation. It was oratorically pronounced in the house of commons "to be a war not for Malta, but for Egypt; not for Egypt, but for India; not for India, but for England." In the house of lords the earl of Moira, in concert with the lords Grenville and Spencer, supported the address; that nobleman stiling the first consul "the new Hannibal, who had on the altars of his inordinate ambition, sworn inextinguishable enmity to this country." On the motion of the minister for an addition of 10,000 seamen, Mr. Francis ventured to call upon ministers for some explanation to prove that the country was not again unnecessarily to be plunged in war. Mr. Fox enlarged upon "the right and duty of the house to demand such explanations; and if the country were doomed to a renewal of hostilities, he hoped that the object of the war would be clearly and distinctly understood." But so strongly did the current

run for war, that to assign any definite object, purpose, or motive, in vindication of it, was deemed altogether superfluous. A second message from the King (March 10) announced his intention of embodying the militia of the three kingdoms.

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On the 16th of May lord Pelham declared officially the termination of the discussions, and the recall of the ambassador: upon which the papers relative to the negotiation were laid before parliament. An address in the highest strain of approval was then moved by lord Pelham; and an amendment proposed by lord King, was negatived by 142 to 10 peers.

Addresses
on the
War.

Upon the same day (May 23,) a similar address being brought forward in the lower house by lord Hawkesbury, a similar amendment was moved by Mr. Grey, which after the usual assurances of support, "expressed the satisfaction with which his Majesty's faithful commons had received his gracious declaration, that he is willing to afford, as far as may be consistent with his own honour and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement by which the blessings of peace may be restored to his loyal subjects."

An animated debate ensued, in which very able speeches were made on each side of the question. At midnight the house adjourned,

Memorable
Speech of
Mr. Fox,
May 24

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and on the next evening Mr. Fox delivered one of those wonderful effusions of wisdom and beneficence which have immortalized and almost consecrated his memory.

“ The address,” Mr. Fox said, “ pledged the house of commons to the justice and necessity of the war, for want of due satisfaction from the first consul of France, without its having been shewn in what points satisfaction has been demanded and refused.” Descending to particulars, he observed, with respect to Piedmont, “ that it was, at the signing of the treaty of Amiens, to all intents and purposes a part of France ; it constituted the 27th military *arrondissement*. It belonged to France as effectually as Gibraltar to England. At the time of the civil annexation, the name only was changed, and it is now the department of the Po. As to Switzerland, no one could contemplate the conduct of France with more indignation than himself. It had terminated, however, in the establishment of a system congenial to the popular feeling, since in the democratic cantons those had been elected to the highest offices who had been the most active in the opposition to France ; and who had chiefly helped to produce the subversion of the government which had been imposed upon them. The occupation of Holland by the French troops was a subject on which it was the duty

of ministers to have remonstrated, and in remonstrating to have taken the highest ground, not by the use of peevish or menacing language, which was always beneath the dignity of a great nation, and never could answer any good purpose; but in an open, candid, and manly tone. This ought to have been done immediately after the arrival of lord Whitworth at Paris; and he was fully persuaded it would have had a favourable effect on the affairs of Holland, on the general opinion of Europe, and on the subsequent conduct of France herself.

“The feelings of bitterness and animosity had been strongly excited on both sides by certain publications. This tended in a great measure to counteract the good effects of peace. If this could not be prevented, it was at least desirable that hostilities between the two nations should be confined to this species of warfare. In the first of poems, by the first of poets, it had been recommended to two combatants preparing for battle, by no less a personage than the goddess of Wisdom herself—‘Put up your swords,’ said she, ‘and then abuse each other as long as you please.’* No man,” said Mr. Fox, “politically speaking, had less

* “Cease your contention—Be thy words severe,
Sharp as thine anger; but the sword forbear.—*ILLIAD* I.

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respect for the house of Bourbon than himself; yet no one would be more averse to withdraw from that family or their adherents the hospitality they had experienced in this country; but there certainly prevailed at Paris a belief, or strong suspicion, that several persons concerned in the plot against the first consul's life, have found protection in England. When charges of such a nature are brought against individuals by name, it is a duty which we owe, not only to France but to ourselves, that some enquiry should take place; for even amidst hostility a great and generous nation gives no countenance to crimes."

Two other points Mr. Fox then alluded to. The first regarded that expression in the *exposé* which affirmed that England *alone* could not contend against France. This he stiled a folly highly to be condemned. Such odious comparisons were calculated to inflame and exasperate, though it would be wiser to treat them with contempt. The second was the report of Sebastiani, which, undoubtedly, contained many insulting and offensive passages, requiring on the part of ministers prompt and vigorous remonstrance. The language of the first consul himself, in addressing lord Whitworth at the Tuilleries, was indecorous, and intemperate. But words are fleeting, liable to misconception and misrepresentation,

and of little or no value unaccompanied by acts. To Egypt, Mr. Fox thought that a degree of consequence had been attached, which it did not in reality possess. It was the theatre on which British valour had most conspicuously signalized itself, and the memory of our exploits in that country had impressed the public mind with ideas of romance. He denied it to be the key of our possessions in India; and he asked whether France had not as much right to complain of our aggrandisement in that quarter, since the treaty of Amiens, as we of her aggrandisement in Europe? That the mission of Sebastiani made a disclosure of the wishes and ulterior views of the first consul, he admitted; but the *desire* did not necessarily imply the *design*. In the year 1786, M. de Vergennes had employed an agent for a purpose similar to that which appeared in the report of Sebastiani. How did the right honourable gentleman then at the head of affairs act upon this occasion? Did he make war? did he remonstrate? did he offer a single complaint on the subject? No; on the contrary, he concluded under those very circumstances, a treaty of amity and commerce with France.

Mr. Fox then desired the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, namely, that respecting Malta, to be read.

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From this it appeared, that the surrender of that island depended upon certain contingencies, all of which had been fulfilled. The grand master had been chosen; the Neapolitan garrison had arrived; and Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Spain, had been *invited* to become guarantees of its independence. Ministers well knew that the *acceptance* of this guarantee was not a *sine qua non* of the surrender. But certain estates had been confiscated, and priories abolished in Spain and Bavaria, belonging to the order of St. John. This was the pretext for the non-execution of the treaty, on the ground of the inability of the order to defend the island. But even this case was provided for. If the Neapolitan garrison should not be found sufficient, the military force is to be increased in the manner therein specified. The emperor of Russia alone had withheld his guarantee, because the establishment of a Maltese *langue* was incompatible with his prior engagements to the order. But of what possible consequence was it to Great Britain whether a Maltese *langue* should exist or not? In the mean time, British faith is violated, and a solemn treaty remains unfulfilled.

Mr. Fox in the course of his speech, again adverted to the negotiation, which was con-

ducted in a manner, at the commencement of it at least, to him utterly incomprehensible. BOOK
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“ I am come,” says lord Whitworth to the French minister, “ to demand satisfaction.”—

“ What satisfaction ?” asks M. Talleyrand.

“ That,” replies lord Whitworth, “ I cannot tell, but I will send to England to enquire.”

Not knowing what explanation to give, ministers change the demand from *satisfaction* to *security*. “ What security ?” says the French minister. “ That,” again replies lord Whitworth, “ I cannot tell, but I will send to know.”

At length it appears that the security wanted is the possession of Malta in perpetuity ; next for ten years ; then a number of other demands are thrown together ; and the king of Sardinia comes forward in the last scene of this political drama, to impart due grandeur to the catastrophe. The immediate evacuation of Holland and Switzerland is likewise insisted upon ; and in return, we offer to acknowledge the king of Etruria, and the Italian republics. Could ministers be serious in this ? The recognition of the king of Etruria by the emperor of Germany was indeed a boon, and a great one, for by so doing he abandons all claim upon his territories. But what claim have we on Tuscany, or Milan, or Genoa ? Whether we acknowledge them or

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not, therefore, is a matter of no importance to them, and is merely a consideration of convenience to ourselves.

The arrogant and menacing language of the first consul, in his conversation with lord Whitworth, upon which so much stress had been laid, was in Mr. Fox's opinion little deserving of serious notice. What was the import of those expressions, as given by lord Whitworth himself? Bonaparte tells us indeed, that he shall attempt to invade us; but he says also, "that he knows the chances are an hundred to one against him, and that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked with great earnestness on the subject, but never once affected to diminish the danger." Was this a proof of arrogance and presumption? In the anticipation of war he states his intention, but is hopeless of success; and ministers think no punishment too great for his harbouring such a thought! This could be compared to nothing but the extravagance of Almanzor, the tragic hero of Dryden, burlesqued in the Rehearsal, who exclaims in passion to his rival:—

"Thou shalt not form the *wish*, thou shalt not dare
To be so impudent as to despair."

In fine, the war on which we were now entering, was plainly for Malta, and for Malta alone; and this he could never think either wise or just. Laying aside all considerations of danger, had we already forgotten the grievous and intolerable weight under which we had suffered during the late war? We are now told “that exertions will be necessary beyond any thing we have ever yet known;” and this is not the declaration of an unpractised or inexperienced orator—it is the right honourable gentleman, lately at the head of his Majesty’s counsels, who tells us, “We have a contest to sustain which will call for sacrifices new and extraordinary, such as had never before been heard of in this country.” Is Malta worth such a contest?—Mr. Fox concluded by giving notice, that he should at no distant period move an address to the King, advising the acceptance of the mediation of Russia. His strong sense of duty, and deep anxiety of mind had impelled him to deliver his sentiments so much at length. He exhorted the house to pause, and to satisfy themselves, as well as their constituents, and all Europe, that this tremendous conflict could not be avoided.”

The speech of Mr. Fox, which lasted nearly

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three hours, was listened to with profound attention, and unavailing admiration. For when the question was put on the amendment proposed by Mr. Grey, it was negatived by a vast majority of 398 to 67 voices.

Mediation
of Russia.

On the 27th May, Mr. Fox moved an address, praying, “that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to avail himself of the disposition *expressed* by the emperor of Russia, to interpose his good offices for the termination of the present war, &c.” Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion, “as having been in substance already promised in the King’s declaration; as a matter unfit for the discussion of parliament; liable to misconstruction; and tending to relax the exertions of the country.”

Mr. Pitt in an eloquent speech, strongly enforced the propriety of the application to Russia, and of cultivating by all means the friendship of that power. “He himself had acted upon the principles recommended by the honourable mover, and he was happy to see them supported by his authority; and greater authority they could not have. He thought, however, the address now proposed unnecessary, as he was convinced that ministers would omit no favourable opportunity of giving them effect.”—As the house in general seemed to concur in the principle, but not in the mode,

Mr. Fox consented to withdraw his motion, and the mediation thus left to the discretion of ministers finally vanished into air.

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The measures brought forward by government for increasing the military force of the kingdom, were in a great degree superseded by the revival, and extension of the volunteer associations; the aggregate of which in a short time, was estimated at no less than 300,000 men. The supplies were raised by a loan of ten millions; and certain duties to be continued during the war, on various articles, to the amount of six millions. The income-tax, better digested and modified, was also revived under the new denomination of a tax on property, and for the present limited to five per cent. The whole supply amounted to more than 40,000,000, of which 12,000,000 and upwards were the produce of annual or war-taxes. Had this system been adopted ten years before by Mr. Pitt, the reputation of that minister would have rested on a much firmer foundation *as a financier*.

Volunteer
Associa-
tions.

Overtures had already been made to that eminent statesman to resume his place in the cabinet, but he would not separate himself from his former coadjutor lord Grenville, and the distinguished persons who adhered to that nobleman. But as the exclusion of lord Gren-

Cursory
Remarks, p.
44 and An-
swer, p. 25.

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ville was made a *sine qua non* by the existing ministers, the negotiation broke off in some displeasure. In the progress of the property-bill, a clause was proposed by Mr. Pitt, to extend the various exemptions of the tax to incomes arising from landed property, or from the funds, but it was negatived by 150 to 50 votes; this was the first public symptom of alienation from the minister on the part of Mr. Pitt. On re-consideration, the rejected clause was ultimately adopted, but, as Mr. Addington chose to say, not for the reasons stated by Mr. Pitt.

Motions of
censure on
Ministers.

A direct resolution of censure on ministers, moved June 2d, by earl Fitzwilliam, was disposed of, not by a direct negative, but the previous question, on a division of 96 to 14 peers. Upon a similar resolution brought forward by colonel Patten in the commons, the previous question was put by Mr. Pitt, but negatived by 333 to 56 voices; on which, not only the late minister and his friends, but many members of the old opposition left the house, and the original motion was negatived by 275 to 34 voices; Mr. Fox declaring "that he could not agree to a vote of censure, as he knew not but the successors of the present ministers might be more objectionable than the present."

On the 17th June the King by message announced to parliament “ that he had communicated to the Batavian government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided the French government would do the like, and withdraw their forces from the Dutch territory : but this proposition not being complied with, he had judged it expedient to recall his minister from the Hague ; and to issue letters of marque and reprisal against the republic.” This seemed a very inadequate ground for a declaration of war on the part of Great Britain, unaccompanied by any act or allegation of hostility on that of Holland.

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1803.
War declared
against
Holland.

In the month of July an insurrection of a most extraordinary nature suddenly broke out in Ireland, and in the very seat and centre of government. The leader was Robert Emmet, a young man of parts inflamed by political enthusiasm. He was brother of Thomas Emmet, one of the Irish Rebel Directory ; and with a few associates he still harboured the wild and criminal project of establishing an Irish republic. Having assembled a number of his deluded partizans, a desperate attempt was made on the evening of July 23d to seize upon the Castle of Dublin. This tumultuous rabble, furnished with pikes and fire-arms, marched through the principal streets for a time unre-

Insurrec-
tion in Ire-
land.

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sisted, and soon setting all subordination at defiance, they committed various atrocities. At length meeting in his carriage, returning from the country, lord Kilwarden, chief justice of Ireland, accompanied by his nephew Mr. Wolfe and his daughter, they in a paroxysm of fury murdered the two former, but permitted the latter to escape. Being in their turn attacked by successive parties of the military hastily call out, they were quickly dispersed, and the insurrection extinguished. On the subsequent communication to parliament, a bill passed for trying rebels in Ireland by martial law, and another for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in that kingdom. Divers of the insurgents, among whom was Emmet himself, being apprehended, were tried on a charge of high treason, and suffered the sentence of the law.

Parliament
prorogued
August 12.

On the 12th of August (1803) the parliament was prorogued by the King in person, with gracious acknowledgments of that ardour in the cause of their country which appeared to animate all classes of his people.

Detention
of the En-
glish in
France.

In every war since 1756, England had not hesitated to seize the merchant ships of the enemy on the high seas trading on the faith of treaties, previous to any declaration of war. The example then set, had been strongly con-

demned throughout Christendom: and indeed the seizure of private property in any war between Christian nations is barbarous and unjust; the decision of the quarrel depending upon far other means. In the present instance Great Britain is said to have captured 200 French vessels in this manner, containing property to the amount of three millions sterling. As a measure of severe retaliation, Bonaparte caused to be detained, all the English resident in France between the ages of eighteen and sixty: and the English government refusing to include these unfortunate persons in any cartel of exchange, they were doomed to an indefinite captivity.*

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O'Meara,
St. Helena,
Vol. 2,
page 57.

* The Earl of Yarmouth, one of these *detenus*, several years after the commencement of the war, being most falsely charged with breaking his parole of honour, says in a letter published in the paper called the *Courier*: "I have always avowed, both at Verdun and at home, my opinion that the detention of the English in 1803, however cruel, by its being a measure never resorted to on former occasions, was justified by the seizure of French property, and French subjects in British ports, before our ambassador had ceased to exercise the functions of his high office at Paris. This opinion left me no pretext, however miserable, for the breach of a parole of honour." This nobleman then proceeds to state that he was at first indebted to the generous interposition of the Prince of Wales, and afterwards to his being employed by Mr. Fox as a negotiator at Paris, that he obtained his liberation.

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Invasion of
Hanover.

During the negotiation an army had been assembled in Holland under Marshal Mortier, which on the first commencement of hostilities marched towards the frontier of Hanover; and on the 25th of May that commander, from his head-quarters at Cœverden, summoned the electorate to surrender, as a pledge for the evacuation of Malta, conformably to the peace of Amiens. After a very faint resistance on the part of the regency, a convention was signed by which the whole electorate was put into possession of the French, the Hanoverian forces being allowed to retire beyond the Elbe. The king of England refusing to ratify this agreement, general Mortier prepared to pass that river. A new convention was then concluded, by which the Hanoverian army was disbanded, after delivering up its artillery and military stores.

The command of the Elbe and Weser being thus gained by the French, those rivers were shut against the English commerce. These measures of violence were retaliated by stationing British squadrons to blockade the entrance of them, and Germany again became the victim of a foreign quarrel.

Conquests
in the West
Indies.

About midsummer an expedition sailed from Barbadoes under general Grinfield, and commodore Hood, which, with the habitual gallantry of British troops, reduced the islands of

St. Lucia and Tobago. In September, the Dutch colonies of Demarara, Essequibo, and Berbice, surrendered on the first summons to a detached force under colonel Nicholson. At the end of November, general Rochambeau being closely invested by Dessalines the Negro chief, in Cape François, signed a capitulation, by which the French ships of war and commerce were surrendered to the English; and the miserable remains of the fine army sent out two years before, under general Le Clerc, became prisoners of war.

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In the course of the summer a convention was signed between Great Britain and Sweden; by which it was reciprocally agreed, that in the case of one party being belligerent and the other neutral, the latter shall not carry to the enemy of the former, arms, warlike stores, armed vessels, or any manufactured articles, serving for the equipment of the same, under the penalty of confiscation as contraband. But that ships laden with provisions, tar, hemp, and generally all un-manufactured articles, the property of the neutral, serving for the equipment of ships, shall not be liable to seizure, and the belligerent power shall in that case exercise the right of pre-emption. The subordinate articles were framed in the same spirit of equity.

Convention
with
Sweden,
July 25.

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Overture
from Bona-
parte to
Louis
XVIII.

An extraordinary correspondence was made public about this time, which had taken place early in the present year between the first consul and the nominal king of France, Louis XVIII., then resident at Warsaw. A Prussian officer named de Meyer was employed to propose to the unfortunate monarch, a formal resignation of his right to the throne, in recompense of which an ample establishment would be provided for him. Though impossible to hearken to an offer which it was therefore folly to make, the answer of the king was mild and dignified.—“I am far,” said this placid prince, “from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour and of his military talents: neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration. For whatever is done for the benefit of my people shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims; far otherwise. He himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken. I cannot pretend to know what may be the intentions of the Almighty respecting my race and myself; but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which

he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of Saint Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example by respecting myself even in my captivity and chains. As successor of Francis I., I shall at least aspire to say with him, "We have lost every thing but our honour."

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Louis immediately apprizing the count d'Artois, then in Great Britain, of what had passed, a meeting of the princes of the blood was convened (April 22.) by him; and an unanimous adhesion was signed on their part to the answer of the king.

The general attention in England was still more excited by a letter from the prince of Wales to the King his father, requesting, or rather demanding, to be employed in a military capacity.—"Ought I not," said the prince, "to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? The highest places in your Majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family. To me alone no place is assigned. If I could submit in silence to such indignity, I should indeed deserve such treatment. I cannot sink in public opinion without the participation of your Majesty in my degradation."

Letter from
the Prince
of Wales to
the King,
July 18.

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Such is the stile of this extraordinary letter; which displayed an energy not generally supposed to belong to the prince's character. The King replied shortly, but with no symptoms of resentment to this remonstrance. "Though I applaud," said he, "my dear son, your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no further on the subject. Should our implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of shewing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion; and I shall certainly think it mine, to set an example in defence of every thing that is dear to me and to my people.' The prince had now attained to the meridian of life: and though his predilections, both public and private, had been hitherto decidedly favourable to the whigs, in personal respect to the King, his conduct had been most exemplary. On the other hand, though the King had shewn himself a kind and indulgent parent, he had displayed as a sovereign great jealousy of the prince, who

had never been admitted to the least share of power, or confidence; and this total exclusion from the affairs of state too naturally led to a life of indolence and pleasure.

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During the whole of this summer, the first consul had with unremitting assiduity, re-assembled an immense number of vessels in the different ports of the Channel, for the avowed purpose of invasion. Upon this flotilla various attempts were made with great valour and some success. In the month of September, the town of Granville was attacked by sir James Saumarez, the pier demolished, and many vessels destroyed. Commodore Owen also distinguished himself by a similar enterprize on Dieppe and other places; and Havre-de-Grace, Boulogne, Calais, Ostend, &c. were declared to be in a state of blockade.

French
Flotilla
re-assembled.

On the 22d November (1803,) the session of parliament was opened with a popular speech from the throne. “Embarked,” said the King, “with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and our independence.” The addresses were unanimously voted. In answer to Mr. Fox’s enquiry, the

Session of
Parliament
Nov. 22d,
1803.

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1803.

chancellor of the exchequer said, "that the mediation of the emperor Alexander had been accepted, but from the discussions to which it had given rise, no favourable result was to be expected."

Coercive
Acts re-
specting
Ireland.

Under the sanction of Mr. Yorke, appointed secretary of state in the room of lord Pelham, bills for the continuance of martial law, and the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland, passed without division, though not without debate. In the upper house, they received the support of lord Hawkesbury, who had recently been called up by writ to the peerage. Lord Grenville observed, "that though extraordinary powers were undoubtedly requisite to repel extraordinary dangers, the danger ought to be clearly ascertained, whereas the state of Ireland at the present moment was perfectly tranquil: and if the civil and criminal courts could exercise their functions without interruption, martial law was unconstitutional. The bills, however, were generally deemed necessary, and passed in this house also without a division. On the army estimates, much discussion arose as to the most efficient plan of defence; and Mr. Windham affirmed, that notwithstanding the 400,000 volunteers, the

Debate on
Army esti-
mates.

kingdom was left by ministers in a state of great insecurity. Mr. Pitt approved the general system, but complained of the want of an adequate provision for giving the volunteer force a greater degree of discipline and improvement; and Mr. Fox concurred in thinking the military arrangements unsteady, vacillating, and capricious. Thus the several parties in opposition visibly approximated; and on some points there appeared evident symptoms of amicable co-operation.

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Soon after the Christmas recess, Mr. Yorke brought in a bill to consolidate the provisions contained in the different acts relative to the yeomanry and volunteer corps throughout the United Kingdom. This gave rise to long-protracted debates; and innumerable objections were urged against the plan of ministers. Mr. Pitt proposed various clauses of amendment, which were negatived by no very decisive majorities; but the bill finally passed both houses into a law.

1804.
On the
Yeomanry
Consolidation Act.

During this discussion, the King had suffered under a return of his former malady. This continued for several weeks; but as the disorder began early to abate in violence, no formal communication was made to parliament; and on the 9th March, the lord chancellor declared himself justified, after a personal

Malady of
the King.

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Debate on
the State of
the Navy.

interview with the King, in announcing his Majesty's assent to the bills specified in the royal-commission.

On the 15th March Mr. Pitt moved an enquiry into the state of the naval force: representing in the course of his speech, the exertions of the board of admiralty, at which the earl of St. Vincent presided, as wholly inadequate to the exigencies of the times. This was resisted by Mr. Tierney, who had accepted the place of treasurer of the navy: and on the other hand supported by Mr. Fox, who thought that the honour of the noble earl, thus publicly impeached, called for a serious investigation. The motion, after a vehement debate, was negatived in a very full house by a majority of 71 voices only.

On the Mi-
litary Sys-
tem of De-
fence.

On the 23d April, Mr. Fox moved that it be referred to a committee to revise the several acts that had been passed for the defence of the country. This had chiefly in view the increase of the regular force, as far more efficient than any description of volunteers. This was not only the opinion of both branches of the opposition, but of the highest military authorities. The motion was powerfully supported by Mr. Pitt, "who thought it calculated to unite all those who by the experience of the last twelve months were convinced that

from the present ministers no measures of suitable vigour and energy were to be expected.”

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Mr. Windham exerted the whole force of his vituperative eloquence on the same side of the question. The measures of government were defended with no inconsiderable ability by Mr. Yorke, Mr. Tierney, and the attorney general Perceval; and on the division, the number were 256 to 204 in favour of ministers.

Two days after this, Mr. Yorke moved that the house go into a committee on the bill now depending for the suspension of the army of reserve act. This was opposed by Mr. Pitt, as the relinquishment of a measure from which great advantage had been derived, and still more might be expected. The same speakers again stood forward, and another contest ensued not less violent than the former. The details entered into were tedious, complicated, and in the retrospect totally uninteresting. In the result, the motion of the secretary of state was carried by a majority of 240 to 203 members.

On the
Army of
Reserve
Act.

In the face of such an opposition, every day becoming more formidable, ministers felt their own inability to proceed. On the 27th of April, nevertheless, the chancellor of the exchequer, who had conducted the business of finance with indisputable skill and integrity,

Annual
Statement
of Finance.

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brought before the house his plans for the present year. By certain additions to the war taxes, they were raised to no less than 15,000,000. He proposed a loan of 10,000,000; but as the sinking fund, a sacred deposit, had risen to more than 6,000,000, the actual increase of debt would be less than 4,000,000. On this occasion he received the meed of universal applause.

Partial
Change of
Ministry.

A motion relative to the national defence, intended to be submitted to the house of peers by the marquis of Stafford (April 30) was precluded by an intimation from lord Hawkesbury, that a new ministerial arrangement was in immediate contemplation. On the 7th of May an interview with the King took place on the part of Mr. Pitt, who was for that purpose invested with unlimited powers, excepting only the revival of the catholic question and the introduction of Mr. Fox into the cabinet. The first all agreed not to urge upon the affrighted conscience of the King. As to the second, it was the well-known and laudable desire of Mr. Pitt, under the present circumstances, to form a comprehensive administration, which should include the most distinguished persons of all parties; and the crisis was peculiarly favourable for that union of principle, which in the zenith of his father's

fame had in a manner annihilated all party spirit.

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The King, however, remained inflexible, and Mr. Pitt at length reluctantly undertook to form an administration not including Mr. Fox, or, consequently, any of his friends. But an unforeseen obstacle occurred; for lord Grenville and his political associates, though no positive promise or engagement had taken place to that effect, from a high sense of honour refused to form a part of the new arrangement: and a letter addressed by that nobleman to Mr. Pitt, which was universally circulated, placed the character of lord Grenville in a very advantageous point of view.

Celebrated
Letter of
Lord Gren-
ville, May
1804.

“An opportunity now offers,” said the noble writer, towards the close of this celebrated letter, “such as this country has seldom seen, for giving to its government in a moment of peculiar difficulty the full benefit of the services of all those who by the public voice and sentiment are judged most capable of contributing to its prosperity and safety. The wishes of the public on this subject are completely in unison with its interests: and the advantages which not this country alone, but all Europe and the whole civilized world might derive from the establishment of such an administration at such a crisis, would probably

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have exceeded the most sanguine expectations. But when in the very first instance all trial of it is precluded, and when this denial is made the condition of all subsequent arrangements, we cannot but feel that there are no motives of whatever description, which could justify our taking an active part in the establishment of a system so adverse to our deliberate and declared opinion."

Mr. Pitt
re-instated
in Office.

On the 12th of May Mr. Addington resigned, and Mr. Pitt again succeeded to the high office he had occupied for a long series of years; and during more than half of that term with general, though not unqualified, approbation. He now undertook the same arduous task under very gloomy auspices, and with the certain prospect of encountering an opposition equally powerful and popular, and composed in great part of the most zealous of his former friends and adherents. The partial changes which took place in the several offices of administration wholly disappointed the expectations of the public. Lord Hawkesbury was removed from the foreign to the home department; the seals thus vacated, were consigned to lord Harrowby; the earl of Camden being the third or war secretary. In the admiralty, the earl of St. Vincent was superseded by viscount Melville. Lord Eldon,

far more esteemed as a lawyer than a statesman, remained in possession of the great seal; the earl of Westmoreland of the privy seal. The duke of Portland continued president of the council; lord Castlereagh of the India board; and the earl of Hardwicke chief governor of Ireland.

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On the 5th of June, the minister produced his promised plan for raising and supporting an additional permanent military force. Though a real difference of opinion might easily exist on this subject, it was scarcely possible that something of personality should not blend itself with the long-protracted discussions on this bill. Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham agreed in the principle, but found much to censure in many of its provisions. It was also assailed by the late ministers Mr. Yorke and Mr. Addington; the latter enlarging much on the dangerous policy of maintaining an immense military regular force, and of reducing the militia, the ancient constitutional safeguard of the nation.

New Military System.

The bill was ably defended by Mr. Canning, treasurer of the navy, but chiefly by Mr. Pitt himself, who spoke in some chagrin at the combination formed against him, before he had carried into effect any one measure which could be characterised as good or bad. Sin-

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cere as he had been in his wishes for an extended administration, such conduct led him to question the possibility of harmony in a cabinet formed of such discordant materials.

Mr. Fox in adverting to this part of Mr. Pitt's speech said, "that he believed it to be the opinion of most reflecting persons, that if there ever was a time when it was indispensable that the government should consist of men most respected and distinguished for their ability to serve the country, it was the present moment. Notwithstanding the extraordinary talents of the present minister, it was not to be denied that the country had an inefficient administration. The refusal of certain gentlemen to form a part of that administration, which they could not do without abandoning a principle which in present circumstances seemed to them essential to the public safety, was highly honourable to their characters. As to himself, he was perhaps less eager than the right honourable gentleman respecting the objects of political ambition; and age had diminished his propensities to engage in such contest."

"Lenit albescens animos capillus

Litium et rixæ cupidos protervæ."

The bill at length passed on a division of 265 to 223 voices.

Mr. Wilberforce having reason to expect a more cordial support from the present than the former minister, again brought forward, at a late period of the session, his almost hopeless motion for the abolition of the slave trade, which he enforced with all his accustomed ardour and eloquence in the cause of humanity. It was supported both by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox ; and the bill brought in for that purpose passed by a decisive majority of 75 to 49 members. On its transmission, nevertheless, to the upper house, though sixteen years had elapsed since the question was first agitated, it was postponed on the motion of lord Hawkesbury for maturer investigation in the ensuing session.

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Bill for
abolishing
the Slave
Trade.

Two years had scarcely elapsed since the enormous sum of 990,000*l.* had been voted to make good the deficiencies of the civil list. It now appeared by the statement of the chancellor of the exchequer in a committee of supply (July 2d), that the arrears again amounted to the sum of 590,000*l.* and upwards. Upon the present occasion Mr. Pitt not only moved for a grant equal to the debt, but an annual augmentation of 60,000*l.* : also to exonerate the civil list from a variety of charges which it was now for the first time discovered did not properly belong to it. All this was voted with

Civil List
Arrears a
seventh
time dis-
charged.

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wonderful facility. Exclusive of the vast sums granted from time to time for the discharge of arrears, the droits of the crown and the admiralty had amounted to many millions; offering as it were, a perpetual bribe for eternal war. The civil list of Ireland was fixed at 225,000*l.* and the revenues of Lancaster, of Cornwall, of the crown lands, of the Leeward Island duties, of fines, &c., must be added to the account. Yet out of this incredible expenditure nothing had been effected of public ornament, or utility; nor in any point of view, could the magnificence of the court be said, like that of Louis XIV. to be the magnificence of the nation. Better, certainly, would it be to abolish the civil list altogether, than to keep up this mockery of a separate and limited revenue.

Report respecting the
East India
Company.
Appendix,
No 1.

On the 10th July lord Castlereagh, as president of the board of control, made his usual statement of the finances of the honourable company. He allowed that two years ago, he had expressed his firm conviction, not only that the public would receive a participation of 500,000*l.*, but that the company would be able to establish a sinking fund of two millions for the extinction of the debt. But all this was in contemplation of the continuance of peace. And the resumption of hostilities had caused a great deficiency, instead of a great

surplus, rendering a loan of 1,200,000*l.* in India a measure of urgent and absolute necessity.

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Lord Archibald Hamilton observed, “ that the house was annually amused with splendid promises of the extinction of the company’s debt; and of the approach of that æra when India would contribute to the expenses of the empire. On the contrary, the debt which was last year eighteen, was now increased to nineteen millions.”

Mr. Francis affirmed “ that the mischief was in a state of progression. Every year had witnessed the deterioration of the company’s finances. At the renewal of the charter, it had been provided that the country should receive half a million annually, which, after the first year, was never paid. It had been the constant practice for the last twenty-one years, to announce the approach of prosperity by estimates which subsequent events had not justified.”

Lord Castlereagh entered into long details to prove “ that neither he, nor his predecessor lord Melville, had ever held out any promises that would not have been fulfilled IF it had not been for wars that could not have been foreseen.” In fine, the resolutions moved by the Indian minister were carried without a division.

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Proroga-
tion of
Parliament
July 31,
1804.

The parliament was prorogued July 31, 1804, the King expressing his confidence that, in the issue of the present conflict, an effectual barrier may be finally raised against the unbounded schemes of aggrandisement and ambition, which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the Continent."

French
Exposé,
January,
1804.

The state of things in Europe at this moment seemed, nevertheless, but ill calculated to inspire this persuasion. The annual *exposé* of the French government, laid before the legislative body, (January 1804,) represented the situation of France as in the highest degree prosperous. It again indignantly denied, that on the 8th of March of the preceding year, a single preparation existed in the ports of France, or Holland, to which the most jealous suspicion could give a sinister interpretation; though it was the *right* of France to arm in vindication of the independence of Malta.

Conspiracy
against the
French Go-
vernment.
Official
Report.
Appendix,
No. II.

A dark and dangerous conspiracy against the first consul and government of France, was shortly after this laid open to the public. So long ago as August 1803, the notorious Georges, with eight of his accomplices, had been landed at Belville in Normandy. This was followed by other disembarkations; and early in the present year general Pichegru, with two sons of the duc de Polignac, and

others of the chief conspirators, arrived in Paris, where the general, accompanied *once*, as appeared in evidence, by Georges, had repeated interviews with general Moreau; who, though a warm friend to the constitutional monarchy, and its re-establishment in the family of the Bourbons, would not actively engage in the present desperate attempt.

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1804.

About the middle of February 1804, the two generals were arrested; and soon afterwards Georges with many of his accomplices, in all thirty-seven in number, eleven of whom, including their leader, were publicly executed. General Moreau, whose popularity and reputation were inferior only to those of Bonaparte himself, was permitted to withdraw into Spain, and thence to North America. Pichegru was found strangled in prison; thus, by his own hand, preventing the stroke of public justice, which, with fatal certainty, impended over him.

Arrest of
Generals
Moreau
and Piche-
gru.

The project of a general insurrection had been imparted to the principal royalists in France and to those in the surrounding states: the duc d'Enghien, grandson of the prince de Condé, being at this time resident at Ettenheim in the dominions of the margrave of Baden, near the French frontier, with the view of taking the eventual command of the insurgents. This did not, and could not, appear in

Violent
seizure of
the Duc
d'Enghien.

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1804.

the view of Europe at large, or even of those who were least favourable to the Bourbons, as a criminal act; and no evidence has been offered to prove that he had the slightest knowledge of the intended assassination. Bonaparte, nevertheless, irritated at the repeated attempts against his person, originating not with Louis XVIII., but, according to the universal belief of France, with the *chief* of the princes of his blood, resolved upon an act of exemplary vengeance. With this view, a body of French cavalry, under general Caulaincourt, passed the Rhine on the evening of March 14, and seized upon the duke d'Enghien and some other persons, whom they conveyed to the citadel of Strasburg, whence he was hastily removed to the castle of Vincennes; and there tried before a military commission, by whom he was found *guilty* of having borne arms against the French republic. The sentence of death was consequently passed upon him; and this was executed (March 21) within twenty-four hours in the forest of Vincennes. Strong intercession is said to have been made for his pardon; but his youth, his talents, his valour in the field, and the general estimation in which he was held, as the most accomplished prince of the Bourbon family, seemed only to render the first consul the more inexorable.

This act of barbarous and impolitic violence caused a great sensation throughout Europe; and the emperor of Russia distinguished himself by a public protest against it, addressed to the diet assembled at Ratisbon. His imperial majesty declared himself the more affected by this event, as he never could have expected that a power which had undertaken, in common with him, the office of mediator of Germany, could have departed in such a manner from the sacred principles of the law of nations.

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1804.
Protest of
the Emperor
of
Russia.

From a mass of papers and letters published by the French government, it appeared that Mr. Drake, envoy at the court of Munich, carried on a confidential correspondence with the French royalists, both in London and Paris, for the purpose of subverting the existing government; and that what was stiled a "revolutionary committee," had been actually established in the French metropolis. This correspondence was conducted through the medium of a person named Mehée de la Touche, who, being in the pay of Fouché, minister of police, had revealed to him all that passed. Mr. Spencer Smith, envoy at Stutgard, was also concerned in this dark affair. In consequence of the intelligence transmitted to the elector of Bavaria, official notice was given (March 31)

Intrigues
of the
English
Govern-
ment.

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1804.

Circulars
of M. Tal-
leyrand
and Lord
Hawkes-
bury.

to Mr. Drake, “ that his electoral highness was penetrated with grief at the discovery that his capital had been made the central point of an insurrection so inconsistent with the functions of a public minister.” Mr. S. Smith received a similar notification from the duke of Wirtemberg, and both these ministers found it necessary to retire from the respective courts. Upon this occasion, a circular was sent by M. Talleyrand to all the foreign ministers resident at Paris, charging the English government, in no equivocal terms, with being privy to the late conspiracy against the person of the first consul. In reply, lord Hawkesbury addressed a letter to the ministers of foreign courts in London, deprecating “ the necessity of repelling, with merited scorn and indignation, the atrocious and utterly unfounded calumny, that the government of his Majesty have been a party to plans of assassination. Belligerent powers,” however, he proceeds to say, “ have an acknowledged right to avail themselves of all discontents that may exist in countries with which they may be at war ; and the exercise of that right, even if in any degree doubtful, would be fully sanctioned in the present case, not only by the present state of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which has constantly kept up

communications with the disaffected in the territories of his Majesty, particularly in Ireland."

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But the novelty of the present procedure on the part of the English government, consisted in employing ministers accredited to foreign and neutral courts, men whose persons and offices were sacred, as active agents in political plots and conspiracies, though not involving the atrocious guilt of assassination: and M. Talleyrand in a haughty rejoinder declared, "that the English diplomatic corps would not be recognized by France, so long as they should be charged with any warlike agency, and should not be restricted to the limits of their functions." Sir George Rumbold, resident at Hamburg, was on this ground actually seized with his papers as an accomplice with Drake; but after a short confinement in Paris released, on his engaging not to return to his mission; but his papers were retained.

An act of violence far more flagrant was the imprisonment of captain Wright, who commanded the English frigate whence divers of the assassins had landed in France, and who had subsequently been himself made captive. This officer could not incur criminality by the mere performance of his professional duty;

Unjust Im-
prisonment
of Captain
Wright.

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1804.

Advance-
ment of Bo-
naparte to
the dignity
of Empe-
ror.

nor does it appear that he was at all apprized of the designs in contemplation. After a close and severe incarceration, captain Wright died in prison; whether by secret execution, as was strongly suspected, or in consequence of the unmerited sufferings sustained by him in that state of *duress*, cannot be ascertained.*

The failure of the recent plot tended, as usual, to confirm and elevate the power which it aimed to destroy. The ambition of Bonaparte was no longer satisfied with the simple appellation of first consul, though accompanied with monarchical authority. Soon after the

* O'Meara's Saint Helena, Vol. I. p. 324. "Instead," says Napoleon himself, "of desiring the death of Wright, I was anxious to bring to light by his testimony that PITT had caused assassins to be landed in France, purposely and knowingly to murder me."—And again, Vol. II. p. 182. "The fact is, that Wright killed himself, and I do not believe that he was even personally ill-treated. That Fouché might have *threatened him*, with a view of extracting discoveries, is possible!" This acknowledgement leads to the blackest suspicions. With respect to the victim sacrificed at Vincennes, Napoleon says, Vol. I. p. 453. "It was found out by the confession of some of the conspirators, that the duke d'Enghien was an accomplice; and that he was only waiting on the frontiers of France for the news of my assassination, upon receiving which he was to have entered France as the king's lieutenant." But is it credible that the proof should be withheld, if this charge could have been supported by evidence?

arrest of the generals Moreau and Pichegru, deputations from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, presented addresses of felicitation; to which he answered, "that it was not against himself, but against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people, that the conspiracy had been formed." On the 27th March the senate resolved on a second address, proposing to confer upon him the title of emperor, and to make the dignity hereditary. This was followed by others from the armies and municipal bodies, particularly that of Paris. After a decent interval, an answer was returned to the senate, "referring every thing to their wisdom."

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On the 1st May a decree to this effect was formally moved in the tribunate, in whom the privilege of originating laws was vested; and met with no opposition, except from the inflexible Carnot, who dared to ask, "if the sacrifice of liberty was to be the reward of the services of the first consul?—He denied that the expulsion of the Bourbons involved the necessity of a new dynasty. Is liberty," he exclaimed, "disclosed to man only that it may never be enjoyed? No, I cannot consent to regard it as a mere chimæra;" and the means of consolidating the government, in his opinion, consisted in a strict adherence to justice. The

Opposition
of Carnot.

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1804.

decree, with his single Veto, was transmitted to the senate; who, on the 18th of May, passed an organic senatus consultum, constituting Napoleon Bonaparte emperor of the French, and declaring the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. On announcing his acceptance of the decree, the new emperor expressed his hope, “that France would never repent of having surrounded his family with honours. In all cases,” said he, “my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it will cease to deserve the love and confidence of this great nation.”

Many promotions followed this grand event, and the titles of the two sub-consuls, Cambaceres and Le Brun, merged in those of arch-chancellor and arch-treasurer. Eighteen generals were raised to the dignity of marechals of France; and the assumption of the imperial title was announced to the diet at Ratisbon, and all foreign courts.

Plutarch, in
Demet.

It has been well remarked, that advancement to a new and higher title is by no means a matter of indifference, or a mere gratification of vanity: and from this æra, it is observable, that Bonaparte affected in all points, and upon all occasions, the imitation and re-

Memoirs of
Rochamb.
Appendix.
No. 2.

semblance of Charlemagne. It is indeed certain that he aspired to the same glorious ap-

pellation of emperor of the west; cherishing the romantic idea of permanently uniting nations of different languages, customs, habits, and modes of faith, under the same dominion; an ambition extravagant in itself, and totally adverse to the spirit and genius of modern times. To his surprize and chagrin, a very strong dislike and jealousy of this plan manifested itself even among his favourite generals and counsellors, who saw that it tended to reduce France to the level of a province. Had he contented himself with establishing a new dynasty under the antient title, and blended the requisite moderation with his ambition, Europe would have readily acquiesced in the expulsion of a detested race, distinguished in the annals of history for persecution and oppression.

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1804.

As the elective dignity of emperor of the Romans would, under the present order of things, be in future held by a very precarious tenure, Francis II. resolved, on mature consideration, to assume the title of hereditary emperor of Austria: though, as the imperial edict promulgated August 11th (1804) specifies, "in such a manner that all our kingdoms, principalities, and provinces, shall invariably retain the titles, constitutions, prerogatives, and relations, which they have hitherto enjoyed.

Francis II.
Emperor
of Austria.

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XXXVII.1804.
Naval Suc-
cesses.

The defenceless settlement of Goree, which had been captured by the French in January, was retaken in March by a single frigate. In February, a remarkable engagement took place in the east near the Straits of Malacca, between a French squadron, commanded by admiral Linois, and a fleet of Indiamen, under commodore Dance, whom Linois was on the watch to intercept. In the result, the enemy were beaten off, and Linois stood away under full sails, not having made a single capture.

Distress of
Holland.

The Batavian republic had been suddenly, and on very slight, not to say unjust grounds, involved in a contest, for which that unfortunate state was altogether unprepared. In the proclamation of March 7th (1804), issued by authority of the Batavian government, complaint is made, “that in this unhappy war to which they are compelled by the duty of self-defence, their ships, laden with the productions of their colonies, and the treasures of their reviving commerce, were captured while pursuing their peaceful destinations *even before any declaration of war*.—And some of our possessions have already fallen before the superior force of the enemy.”

Capture of
Surinam.

But the calamities of the republic were only in their commencement. An expedition under general Green and commodore Hood, sailed

from Barbadoes in the beginning of April, against the important settlement of Surinam ; and arriving on the 25th, sent an immediate summons of surrender. After a feeble resistance, a capitulation was signed, May 5th, (1804,) by which the inhabitants were secured in their property and laws, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

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1804.

Notwithstanding the repeated efforts made in the course of the present summer to prevent the assemblage of the French flotilla at Boulogne, the rendezvous was nearly completed, when it was resolved by the British minister to make a grand attempt, on a plan entirely new, to destroy the whole armament by means of vessels called catamarans, a supposed *improvement* upon the antient fire-ships, and so constructed as to explode under water, and thus to blow the light craft of the enemy into the air. The covering squadron was commanded by lord Keith ; and in the night of the 2d October the experiment was made upon about 150 sail of the flotilla, lying without the harbour. The public expectation was greatly raised ; but the disappointment was proportionate ; for twelve of these catamarans successively exploded, and rose in splendid columns of flame without producing any visible effect, while the assailants were

Failure of
Catamarans.

BOOK
XXXVII.

1804.

meantime exposed to a continued fire from the hostile batteries, from which, happily, as little injury was sustained; and the whole bore the resemblance of a magnificent firework on a rejoicing night.

Hostilities
commen-
ced against
Spain.

By the terms of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded between France and Spain A.D. 1796, each party in case of war was obliged to furnish to the other a specific auxiliary force, naval and military; namely, fifteen ships of the line and 24,000 men. This succour, nevertheless, had been commuted for an equivalent in money. In June 1803, Mr. Frere, resident at Madrid, had been instructed to demand a renunciation of this offensive treaty. But, however well inclined the court of Madrid might be to compliance, it was a measure which she durst not hazard; and on the futile pretext that armaments were preparing in the ports of Spain, war was suddenly and secretly resolved upon by the English minister. In fact, intelligence had been received, that a Spanish squadron from Buenos Ayres, with bullion and treasure on board to a vast amount, was momentarily expected at Cadiz: and captain Moore of the *Indefatigable*, with three other frigates, was detached from the channel fleet, to cruize off the Spanish coast for the purpose of interception.

On the 5th October (1804,) four Spanish ships of war were seen steering for Cadiz, one of which bore a rear-admiral's flag. On the refusal of the commander to strike his colours to a force not greater than his own, a bloody engagement ensued, during which the Mercedes ranging next the admiral, blew up, and all on board perished excepting a few rescued with difficulty by the English boats. The remaining ships struck, after sustaining a heavy loss in killed and wounded. It happened that a very large proportion of the treasure was on board the Mercedes. On this occasion one of those distressing events occurred, calculated to excite universal sympathy, and to exhibit the nature of war in its blackest colours. A Spaniard of rank, who had filled a high official station in America, was after a residence of many years in that country, returning with his family, consisting of his wife, four daughters, and five sons, to enjoy the fruits of his long services in his native country. This nobleman had taken his passage with them in the Mercedes, but, before the engagement, he with one of his sons passed into another frigate, where they were doomed to the horror of witnessing the subsequent catastrophe. The English ministers underwent severe cen-

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XXXVII.

1804.
Seizure of
the Span-
ish Flota.

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1804.

sure, not merely for the insidious nature of the seizure, but for sending so small a force as to render resistance unavoidable, however unavailing, on the part of the Spanish commander.

Spanish
Declara-
tion of
War,
December
2, 1804.

Though the negotiations at Madrid were not immediately broken off, and the declaration of war on the part of the catholic king was not issued till the 12th December, it was not the less certain. In this well-drawn manifesto, his catholic majesty complained “of the renovation of the war on the part of Great Britain, unattended with the forms and solemnities prescribed by the law of nations, by positive aggressions, while its agents at Madrid magnified the pacific intentions of their sovereign. This must suffice to shew clearly to all Europe, the bad faith and secret aims of the English ministry, even if they had not manifested them by the atrocious crime of the surprize, attack, and capture of the four Spanish frigates, navigating in the full security which peace inspires. What civilized nation until this hour has made use of means so unjust and violent, to exact securities from another? What satisfaction can be given for the lamentable destruction of the frigate *Mercedes*, with all its cargo, its equipage, and the great number of distinguished

passengers who have perished, the victims of a policy so detestable?"

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The grand ceremony of the coronation of the emperor and empress of France took place December 2d. From motives both of policy and vanity, Bonaparte was anxious that the ceremony should be performed, like that of Charlemagne, by the pope; who, with no apparent reluctance, acceded to this *request*. In an allocution to the consistory of cardinals previously to his departure, his holiness said, "Our dearest son in Christ, Napoleon, emperor of the French, who has so well deserved of the catholic religion for what he has done, has signified to us his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the imperial crown from us, to the end that the solemn rites which are to place him in the highest rank, shall be forcibly impressed with the character of religion, and call down more effectually the benediction of Heaven. We have also," said his holiness, "formed great hope that having undertaken it by his invitation, when we shall speak to him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the catholic church, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on having perfected the work of our most holy religion." In the official account of this *august ceremony*,

1804.
Coronation
of the Em-
peror Na-
poleon,
Dec. 2,
1804.

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1804.

it is particularly specified, that in the procession to the cathedral of Notre Dame, marechal Kellerman carried the crown, and marechal Perignon the sceptre of *Charlemagne*.

Misunder-
standing
between
France and
Sweden.

In the course of the summer, a visible coolness and alienation took place between the French government and the northern courts of Stockholm and Petersburg. The maritime convention concluded between Great Britain and Sweden was animadverted upon in very indignant terms in the official publication called the *Moniteur*; of which many articles were known to proceed from the pen of Bonaparte himself, who aspired to literary as well as political and military fame. In return, a note from the king of Sweden, as duke of Pomerania, was delivered (January 1804) to the diet at Ratisbon, declaratory of his utter disapproval of the mediation of foreign powers in the affairs of the empire. This drew down anew upon that monarch the censures equally severe and contemptuous of the *Moniteur*; reproaching the king of Sweden “for not having followed the advice of his most experienced and faithful ministers, and exhorting him to attempt no more than he was able to perform; and not instigate the Germanic body into a war, to the success of which he could contribute nothing.” Gustavus IV. with all the impotent

resentment belonging to his character, immediately made known to the French legation at Stockholm, that all diplomatic relations were at an end.

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XXXVII.
1804.

Symptoms of a misunderstanding far more serious began about this period to prevail between the courts of St. Petersburg and the Tuilleries, in relation to the affairs of Italy, and particularly of Sardinia; respecting which the emperor Alexander had received assurances by no means satisfactorily fulfilled; as might indeed be expected from the apathy manifested upon that subject by the English negotiators at Amiens.

Serious
Disputes
between
France and
Russia.

M. d'Oubril, the Russian minister at Paris, presented (April 1804) a memorial, complaining of the violation of the rights of nations in the seizure of the duc d'Enghien, while resident in the dominions of a foreign prince, and announcing that the emperor Alexander had caused his sentiments to be made known to the Germanic diet. At length in the month of July following, the demands of Russia were communicated by M. d'Oubril, in form, to the French government. They imported, I. That in conformity to the secret convention of October 1801, the troops of France shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples; II. That measures shall be adopted for regulating the basis on

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1804.

which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted; III. That agreeably to the said convention, *and the promises repeatedly given to Russia*, an indemnification be immediately provided for the king of Sardinia; IV. That the French government do withdraw its armies from the north of Germany, and cause the neutrality of the Germanic body to be strictly respected. The answer of Napoleon to these peremptory requisitions, consisted chiefly of recriminations on the court of St. Petersburg, for nonfulfilment of their part of the convention, in maintaining correspondence with the enemies of France, and violating the independence of the Ionian republic. The remonstrances respecting the duc d'Enghien, were retaliated by allusions to the unhappy fate of the late emperor Paul, a case wholly dissimilar. These personalities tended greatly to widen the breach, and the ministers of both powers received letters of recall.

1805.

Pacificatory
Overture
from Bonaparte,
Jan. 2d.

The commencement of the year 1805 was distinguished by a pacificatory overture comprized in a letter addressed personally by Bonaparte, in his new capacity of emperor, to the king of Great Britain. Some elation arising from his recent exaltation pervaded his present, as it had the former epistle announcing his advancement to the consular dignity; yet

it contained sentiments which might do honour to the greatest monarch. "His first wish," as he affirms, "is for *peace*. I consider it," said he, "as no disgrace to make the first step; and certainly there never was a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it; and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have fulfilled a sacred duty, and trust your Majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, *and my wish to give you every proof of it.*"

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XXXVII.1805.
Appendix,
No. III.

To bring this *assertion* to the *proof*, it would have sufficed to demand a disclosure of the terms on which he was ready to conclude the peace thus openly solicited. The reply of the English government (dated January 14) was decorous in its language, but wholly evasive, and not the slightest wish was expressed of farther explanation. "His Majesty," says the secretary of state, lord Mulgrave, to M. Talleyrand, "has received the letter addressed to him by the head of the French government, dated the 2d of the present month. There is no object that his Majesty has more at heart, than to avail himself of the first opportunity to

Answer of
the English
Govern-
ment,
January 14.

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XXXVII.

1805.

procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace which may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions. His Majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements, which may at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his Majesty feels it is impossible for him to answer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the powers on the Continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations, and particularly the emperor of Russia."

Changes in
Adminis-
tration.

In the interval which elapsed between the date of the overture and the answer, Mr. Pitt was engaged in strengthening his parliamentary interest, by a reconciliation with that minister whom he had so lately superseded. For on the 12th of January (1805) Mr. Addington was created Viscount Sidmouth, and declared president of the council, on the resignation of the duke of Portland; lord Mulgrave was made foreign secretary in the room of lord Harrowby; the earl of Buckinghamshire, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and Mr.

Vansittart, with other friends of lord Sidmouth, were sworn of the privy council.

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XXXVII.

The parliament was opened January 15 (1805); the King in person, being the last time of his appearing on the throne, informing the two houses of the rupture with Spain; also, "notwithstanding that the general conduct of the French government, on the continent of Europe, had been marked by the utmost violence and outrage, repugnant to every sentiment of moderation and justice, he had recently received a communication from that government, containing *professions* of a pacific disposition, respecting which he had not thought it right to enter into any particular explanation, without previous communication with the powers of the Continent, and especially with the emperor of Russia."

1805.
Session of
Parliament,
January
1805.

Mr. Fox observed, "that the speech left them entirely in the dark as to the grounds of his Majesty's refusal to negotiate; and after the censures thus passed on the violent and unjust conduct of France, he hoped that no imputation of a similar nature would be found chargeable on our own government." After some discussion, the addresses passed without a division.

On the 11th of February the important question relative to the war with Spain came under

Debate on
the War
with Spain,
H. of C.

BOOK
XXXVII.
1805.

parliamentary investigation. The address of approbation, moved by the minister, was opposed by Mr. Grey, who proposed an amendment, amounting in fact to another address, affirming "that ministers had never made a distinct statement of the terms on which Great Britain would consent to recognize the neutrality of Spain; and that, while the dispositions of Spain still appeared friendly, concealed orders were given for the attack of the Spanish ships, not justifiable on any ground of public law, and much less on those principles of moderation and liberality which belong to the British character." In the course of the debate, this attack was compared to that so generally reprobated, of the Smyrna fleet in the reign of king Charles II. On the division the votes were, for the amendment 106, against it 313.

Debate on
the War
with Spain,
H. of L.

In the house of peers lord Grenville in a speech of great ability, reprobated the proceedings of ministers respecting Spain, as barbarous and unjust. "The laws of civilized war allowed no such act of violence as that which had been committed in assaulting the Spanish ships on the high seas. This had been assimilated to an embargo. But was there no difference between delaying merchant

vessels, which might be delivered back, and destroying ships navigating the ocean in supposed security? Who can restore the innocent blood that has been spilt? No capture of treasure could wash away the stain thus brought upon our arms." An amendment to the address, moved by earl Spencer, was negatived by 114 to 36 voices; the prince of Wales, through the medium of his proxy given to the earl of Moira, voting in the minority.

BOOK
XXXVII.
1805.

Strong and repeated attacks were made in the early part of the session on Mr. Pitt's system of military defence, which had by no means produced the beneficial results predicted from it: but they were over-ruled by large majorities.

Discussions
on the Military
System.

The supplies for the year amounted to about forty-four millions, of which twenty millions were raised by a loan, the subscribers to which received for 100*l.* in money 172*l.* in three per cent. stock. Another loan of three millions and a half was negotiated for Ireland. A considerable addition was made to the war taxes, and the property tax was raised to six and a quarter per cent. The new taxes imposed in perpetuity, were estimated at 1,600,000*l.*; and the minister, while in the act of thus heavily adding to the weight of

Supplies
voted for
the year.

BOOK
XXXVII.
1805.

the public burdens, concluded an eloquent speech by congratulating the house on the increasing prosperity of the country.

Charge
against
Lord Vis-
count
Melville.

In the month of April a disclosure of an extraordinary nature occurred, which caused a great sensation, or rather agitation, throughout the kingdom. Among the various measures of œconomy and reform, which distinguished the late administration, a bill had passed under the auspices of the earl of St. Vincent A. D. 1803, appointing commissioners to enquire into the abuses of the naval department; empowering them to examine on oath. The *tenth* report of this committee implicated in a very serious manner, the conduct of lord Melville, who had for many years filled the office of treasurer of the navy, holding it even with the seals of secretary of state. In the year 1785 a bill, introduced by lord Melville himself, then treasurer, had passed with universal approbation, requiring the public balances of that office, as those of paymaster of the forces, to be paid from and after the 1st July of that year into the Bank of England; the treasurer receiving a clear salary in lieu of all other emoluments; with a positive injunction not to draw out any part of the public monies till actually wanted for the public service: and *then* in pursuance of drafts signed

by the treasurer or his order, specifying the heads of service to which such monies were to be applied.

BOOK
XXXVII.

1805.

In the course of their investigation, the commissioners discovering that very large sums had been continually drawn from the Bank, in a mode not authorized by the act, deemed it their duty to examine lord Melville in person; and in the course of this enquiry, the following close and trying question was put to the ex-treasurer. “During the time you acted as treasurer of the navy, between the 1st January 1786 and the 31st May 1800, was any of the money applicable to naval services, advanced by you, or by your direction, for any other public service than that of the navy?” To this interrogatory lord Melville declined to answer, under cover of the fifth clause of the act by which the commissioners were appointed, and according to which no man was obliged to criminate himself. The board of commissioners then proposed a second question. “Did Alexander Trotter while paymaster of the navy lay out, or cause to be laid out, or applied, any money issued for the service of the navy, since the 1st of January 1786 for your benefit or advantage?”

His refusal
to answer
interrogatories.

Lord Melville declared, “that, from the manner in which Mr. Trotter kept his accounts, it

Tenth Naval Report.

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XXXVII.

1805.

was impossible for him to answer that question." In their subsequent tenth report the commissioners stated their surprize and dissatisfaction at this demur, which seemed the more extraordinary, as lord Bayning, lord Harrowby, Mr. B. Bathurst, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Canning, who had successively held the same office, replied without hesitation or reserve in the negative.

From Trotter the commissioners found it difficult to obtain any answer to any question, being restrained, as he acknowledged, by advice of counsel. In the progress of the investigation, nevertheless, it appeared that all the papers and documents explanatory of the accounts between the treasurer and paymaster, had been destroyed immediately after the commissioners had begun their enquiries.

Resolutions of the House of Commons.

The indignation of the public being wrought up to a high pitch, the whole business was on the 8th of April brought before the house of commons by Mr. Whitbread, who concluded a speech of great energy by moving a series of resolutions, of which the most material imported that lord viscount Melville, in having been privy to and conniving at the withdrawing from the bank of England, for purposes of private interest or emolument, sums issued to him as treasurer of the navy, and placed to his account in the Bank, according to the act of

the 25th George III., had been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of public duty.

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By way of amendment, Mr. Pitt suggested, that a *select committee* be appointed to consider the tenth report, and documents connected therewith; moving for this purpose the previous question. An animated debate ensued, in the course of which it was urged "that lord Melville must have practised a systematic train of deception. His best friends were unable to say for him 'Not guilty upon my honour.' No man could be more guilty, to use the language of Cicero towards Piso, 'than he who dares neither write nor speak his own innocence.' Could any thing be more corrupt, than for a man occupying a high public office, to permit his own agent to convert the public money to his own emolument? With this lord Melville was certainly chargeable. He might be *more* guilty, he could not be *less* so."

When the division took place at the hour of five in the morning, the numbers were found equal; 216 voting for, and 216 against the previous question. The speaker then being compelled to decide, gave his casting vote in the negative. The resolutions subsequently passed without a division, and an adjournment took place till the 10th of April. On

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Resigna-
tion of the
Admiralty
by lord
Melville.His Defence
at the Bar
of the
House of
Commons.

that day, Mr. Pitt declared that lord Melville had resigned his office of first lord of the admiralty; and the resolutions were ordered to be laid before his Majesty by the whole house. After a short interval, the name of lord Melville was erased from the privy council; but the claims of public justice were not satisfied either by this negative punishment, or by the civil action instituted by order of the house: and notice was accordingly given by Mr. Whitbread of his intention to move for an impeachment. Previous to this decisive step, lord Melville conformably to parliamentary usage, was heard at the bar in his own defence. In the course of his speech, he protested "his total ignorance of the proceedings of Trotter; and positively denied that he had ever participated in his supposed profits. He acknowledged that advances of money had been made by him of a nature which could not be disclosed, for the purposes of government, not warranted by the letter of the act, but which were punctually repaid: *also*, that drafts had been signed by himself and Trotter on the Bank, without any specification of the heads of service; but this was *a necessary accommodation* in the course of business; these sums being afterwards distributed in fractional payments: and so far the letter of the act had certainly been departed from."

But as the sums drawn from the Bank on this pretext, were of vast magnitude, and far beyond what could be wanted for the *accommodation* of the service, such a defence could not supersede the impending motion “ that Henry lord viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.” An amendment was proposed, substituting a criminal prosecution as preferable both to an impeachment, and a civil action. This was adopted, after great and long debate, on a division of 238 to 229 voices.

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Nevertheless, upon the ensuing meeting of the house, June 25th, it was deemed by the friends of lord Melville, on mature reflection, expedient to rescind this resolution, an impeachment being thought a less severe mode of procedure than a criminal information. This was now somewhat invidiously opposed by the original supporters of the impeachment, but the motion for the order of the day being negatived by 166 to 143 voices, the milder course prevailed; and on the following day, Mr. Whitbread, attended by a great number of members, impeached Henry lord viscount Melville of high crimes and misdemeanors, at the bar of the house of lords.

Impeachment of
Lord Melville.

A bill of a very problematic nature subsequently passed, to indemnify Alexander Trot-

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Lord Barham succeeds to the Admiralty.

ter and all others called upon to give evidence on the trial of lord Melville from civil actions. The trial itself, on account of the lateness of the session, was postponed to the following year. Lord Melville was succeeded in the admiralty by sir Charles Middleton, an officer long experienced in this department, upon whom was conferred the title of lord Barham. The loss of so able a colleague as lord Melville from a cause so unexpected, caused deep and lasting chagrin to Mr. Pitt, upon whom almost the whole weight of business now devolved; and his health, previously infirm, suffered a manifest depression.

Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade revived.

The renewed motion of Mr. Wilberforce for the abolition of the slave trade, was opposed by the generals Gascoigne and Tarleton, members for Liverpool, and on a division of 77 to 70 members, the bill, notwithstanding the encouragement it received last session, was ordered to be read a second time that day six months; so cold and so capricious was now the feeling of the house on this subject!

Catholic Petition, House of Lords.

On the 10th May, lord Grenville moved the house of peers to resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the petition presented from the catholics of Ireland, for emancipation from the civil disabilities to which they were still liable. In the course of

a most able speech, that nobleman observed
“that the principal bar to the removal of the
disabilities which still existed had been the
peculiar frame of the Irish parliament. The
measure of the Union excited strong hopes of
farther concession by the repeal of the remain-
ing disqualifications. There was certainly no
promise to that effect; yet an expectation was
created, that from the imperial parliament
more favour might be expected, than from the
local legislature of Ireland; and that the union
of the two kingdoms might be productive of
a union of interests, of affection, and attach-
ment to the constitution. It is at least incum-
bent upon those who would continue the re-
strictions, to shew the necessity of such con-
tinuance under the present circumstances.
Let them come forward with the proofs that
such necessity exists. The restraining laws
were enacted upon the ground of disaffection
to the government, and adherence to the ba-
nished family. But who will now accuse the
body of the catholics with disaffection? The
late rebellion was wholly unconnected with
religion. It had in view the overthrow of the
monarchy, and its principal leaders were pro-
testants. You have already conceded much,
where is the danger of conceding what re-

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mains? Can a hesitation to place confidence in their professions proceed from any thing but long-rooted and unreflecting prejudice? Is it not a time when from every motive, the most cordial efforts should be made, to bind together in the closest union every description of the community, menaced as we are by the most active and enterprizing foe with whom we ever had to contend? And can we refuse to take into consideration the claims of four millions of our fellow subjects, whose zealous co-operation must be so essential at such a crisis?"

Lord
Hawkes-
bury.

The chief opposer of the motion was lord Hawkesbury, who, admitting the loyalty of the catholics as a body, maintained, "that to accede to the petition was to give into their hands the powers of sovereignty and jurisdiction. He insisted that the same principle which excluded catholics from the crown, was applicable to all who served under the crown; or at most there existed only a shade of difference; that toleration did not include an unlimited participation of civil rights, which however, he acknowledged, ought not to be abridged, except in case of necessity. But ecclesiastical subjection, like that of the catholics to the pope, included civil allegiance; and he exhorted the house to pursue a steady

and uniform course of policy ; nor consent to abandon those general principles, which, for a century and half, have been deemed peculiarly applicable to Ireland. No country indeed, ancient or modern, had allowed magistrates of a religion different from that of the state, except lately France and America ; where it had both injured morals, and introduced indifference to religion.”

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Lord Sidmouth conjured the house to preserve a protestant parliament, as well as a protestant king, and not to surrender this remaining outwork. Lord Redesdale averred, “ that the establishment of a catholic national church was the real object of the petitioners, and without this he had no hope that the catholics would be contented. The state of the protestant church in Ireland was, he confessed, very bad. There were 2400 benefices, of which 1000 only had churches. Not half of these had glebe-houses, and on many of the most valuable benefices, and those which were most sought after, there was neither church, glebe-house, nor protestant. In this state of things, he expressed his conviction that it was necessary to keep a strong hand over the catholics.”

Lord Sidmouth.

Lord Redesdale.

The earl of Moira remarked, “ that the noble lords who had resisted the petition, ar-

Earl of Moira.

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gued from the apprehension of doctrines now universally exploded. They had conjured up the phantoms which had terrified their forefathers, but were now laid for ever. While we were threatened with dangers on every side, and looking for support to every quarter, we never thought of seeking allies in our own bosom, and of saving ourselves by conciliating our own people." The lords Holland and Hutchinson distinguished themselves by eloquent speeches in favour of the motion, which, after a debate of unusual length, animation, and energy, was negatived, under the present unfavourable circumstances, by 178 to 49 peers.

Mr. Fox.

Three days only intervening, the same question was brought forward in the house of commons by Mr. Fox, in a speech of high and various excellence. "He acknowledged that, for his own part, he considered the claims of the catholics as rights to be allowed, not as indulgences to be conferred. When he spoke of national rights, however, he was far from affirming that the *salus populi*, the supreme law in every state, did not justify occasional exceptions. The only practical question therefore was, whether the safety of the state rendered these disabilities necessary? No one, surely, would say, that because these re-

straints were once necessary, they must still be so; it would be monstrous to claim mere prescription as the ground of exception. It was not religious bigotry which induced queen Elizabeth to enact the penalties which originated in her reign. The catholics were restrained, because they were deemed disloyal subjects. New restrictions were imposed after the revolution, contrary to the sentiments of king William himself, for the supposed security of the new government. But jacobitism is now extinct; the loyalty of the great body of the catholics is admitted. Why then continue these harsh restraints? Was Sully a worse minister to Henry IV. of France, or Necker to Louis XVI., because they were protestants? Did Frederic the Great, or Peter the Great, refuse the services of catholics? Are not the protestant and catholic cantons in Switzerland united under the same government? Are not thousands of catholics employed in our own fleets and armies? And shall we fear to restore to them their civil rights? that equality of protection and privilege, which is dearest to the human mind? The leaders of the rebellion in 1798 all confessed that if the emancipation in contemplation of lord Fitzwilliam had been granted, it would have totally defeated their designs. But would

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we wish his Majesty to violate his coronation oath? If to yield to the present petition be to violate his oath, so must have been all the concessions of 1793. This was a subject, than which none more important could come under the consideration of that house. Let us discuss it as becomes freemen, who know the value of freedom in the estimation of others."

Mr. Grattan.

Mr. Pitt.

The motion was forcibly seconded by the celebrated Grattan, long the champion of liberty in the Irish parliament. Toward the close of an highly interesting debate, Mr. Pitt declared his opinion to remain unaltered, but the *existing circumstances* were such as effectually to preclude his bringing forward the subject himself, or giving any encouragement to others. The prevailing sentiment was adverse to it; and being convinced that it was not the time to agitate the question, he gave his decided negative to the motion. On the division, therefore, the numbers in its favour were only 124 against 336.

Athol Com-
pensation
Bill.

A remarkable debate took place on a bill moved by Mr. Pitt for a farther compensation to the duke of Athol, in lieu of his antient claims as lord of Man, purchased by the government forty years before, for the sum of 70,000*l.* and other advantages, deemed at the

time fully adequate by the Athol family ; though subsequently made a subject of complaint and importunate solicitation. This bill met with no welcome reception in either house ; and in that of the peers was opposed by the lord chancellor Eldon, the lord chief-justice Ellenborough, and the lord president Sidmouth. It nevertheless passed by great majorities, and a grant of 3500*l.* per annum in perpetuity was added to the former terms of agreement.

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On the 19th of June, in pursuance of a royal message, the sum of three millions and half was voted to enable his Majesty to enter into such engagements as the exigency of affairs might require ; and on the 12th of July, 1805, the parliament was prorogued by commission. Immediately previous to this event, lord Sidmouth and the earl of Buckinghamshire resigned their respective offices. This had been for some time expected, in consequence of the decided part taken by the Sidmouth connection in the prosecution of lord Melville. The earl of Camden succeeded the former as president, and lord Harrowby the latter as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, lord Castle-reagh being advanced to the post of secretary of state in the room of lord Camden.

Vote of
Credit.

Parliament
prorogued,
July 12,
1805.

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Death of
the Duke
of Glouces-
ter.

On the 25th of August died the duke of Gloucester, brother to the King; a prince much respected for his public and private virtues: and who had not sustained the slightest degradation in the view of the English nation, by his marriage with an English lady, or by giving his son an English, in preference to a German education.

Review of
Indian
transac-
tions.

Towards the close of the last year, marquis Cornwallis had been appointed successor to marquis Wellesley as governor-general of India; upon which occasion Mr. Francis, after a merited tribute of respect to the new governor, moved a declaration of adherence to the famous resolution of the 28th May, 1782, importing “that to pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation.” This was resisted by lord Castlereagh, on the ground “that such a declaration would amount to an acknowledgement, that Great Britain *had*, in relation to India, pursued a system of aggrandisement and rapine. The contrary being in the representation of this minister so evident, the house passed to the order of the day.

Conduct of
Marquis
Wellesley.

Nevertheless, the sentiments of the court of directors on this subject, were far from harmonizing with those of lord Castlereagh, thus vir-

tually sanctioned by the house of commons. On the contrary, the conduct of marquis Wellesley since the fall of Mysore, was thought by them, who were now indeed mere cyphers in a political view, to render the revival of the resolution of 1782 peculiarly seasonable and necessary.

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1805.

On the accession of the nabob vizier, Saadut Ali Khan, brother to Asoph ul Dowla, to the sovereignty of *Oude*, in the month of February 1798, sir John Shore, then on the eve of his departure from Bengal, made an arrangement with that prince, by which the annual subsidy was raised to seventy-six lacs of rupees, under an engagement that the stationary English force should never consist of less than 10,000 men: if beyond 13,000, the vizier to pay the difference, being however constituted sole judge of the necessity of the augmentation.

Vide Oude
papers laid
before Par-
liament.

About the middle of the year 1799, a negotiation between lord Wellesley and the vizier commenced, by an *amicable recommendation* from the former of a reform in the military establishment of Oude; which reform, on explanation, was found to consist in the reduction of the native force, and substitution of British troops not subject to the orders of the vizier, nor required by him, though they were to be in his pay.

Remarks
on the
Oude ques-
tion, Ap-
pendix.

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Colonel Scott resident at Lucknow, however, in his letter of September 30th, 1799, remarked “ that without the most distant idea of political independence, the nabob discovered an extreme jealousy of English interference in those concerns which his excellency presumed to be left by the treaty of 1798 under his own exclusive management.”

Suddenly the governor-general, changing his tone of *amicable recommendation*, wrote to the nabob vizier, insisting on the *right* of the company to increase the force stationed by them in Oude at their discretion. But the vizier in dismay, even before the delivery of this letter, had communicated to colonel Scott his resolution of resigning the government to one of his sons. Upon this intelligence, the governor-general declared “ the offer of the nabob to be pregnant with immense benefit;” and the vizier was informed, “ that in case of abdication he could have no successor but the company.”

The astonished prince represented “ that to accede to such a measure, would bring upon him indelible disgrace and odium: and that even a reform on the principles proposed by the governor-general would annihilate his authority in his own dominions.” The additional troops, nevertheless, were ordered into Oude

in the month of January 1800. This produced a memorial from the vizier to the governor, respectfully stating, "that such arrangements as those now suggested, had never before entered into the imagination of the preceding rulers: and that the credit and honour of the company would suffer by them." This memorial, however, lord Wellesley would not deign to receive; and the vizier was warned of "the danger of impeaching the honour and justice of the British government." Meanwhile the *military reform* proceeded with vigour. "The vizier," says the resident Scott, April 19th, 1800, "continues punctual in complying with my application for funds for payment of the additional troops." The treaty of 1793 stipulated "that satisfactory security should be given *in case* the subsidy should fall into *actual* arrear." As such a contingency would have left that prince entirely at the mercy of the governor-general, he was particularly anxious to provide against the hazard of a failure. But another body of troops arriving October 1800, he ventured to express, in a letter to the resident, his apprehensions of an eventual failure. This letter being transmitted to Bengal, the governor professed the greatest alarm at the prospect of the nabob's being found deficient in the punctuality of his pay-

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ments; and new instructions were sent to colonel Scott, February 1801, to insist on his excellency's adopting without delay, one of the following alternatives. I. To transfer his whole authority civil and military to the company, *or*, II. To assent to a territorial cession equivalent to the subsidy. The first of these alternatives would, as the governor-general acknowledged, "be preferred, as more effectually promoting the happiness of all the parties concerned;" not to mention, that the whole of a province is better than a part of it. This, therefore, was pressed upon the nabob's attention with great perseverance, and importunity, though all efforts proved in vain.

The second alternative then came under consideration. The vizier had termed the cession, thus demanded, "a separation of his territory." "Would it then," asked the governor, "be a separation of your territory, to place a portion of your dominions in the hands of those with whose interests your own are indissolubly united? whose justice placed you upon the musnud, and whose power now supports you in that exalted station?" These arguments making no impression on the callous understanding of the vizier, he was at length admonished, "that he would do well not to provoke the British government, upon whom his refusal

to cede a part of his dominions would confer a *right* to seize the whole!"

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This was a sort of reasoning which the vizier could not fail to comprehend; and on the 10th of May 1801, he transmitted to colonel Scott "a paper of requests," in which, after notifying his assent to the territorial cession, he expressed, among other particulars, "his hope that the honourable company would be satisfied with the whole of his possessions westward of the Ganges, together with the province of Rohilcund, although the present produce might be somewhat below the demand of the British government." The reply of the governor-general was peremptory, "that no abatement whatever of the demand should be allowed, and that the articles specified in the paper betrayed the most unjustifiable, undignified, and improvident jealousy of the company's authority."

During the whole of this negotiation, for such it is stiled, the vizier is represented "as suffering under the greatest anguish of mind, occasionally seeking refuge in dissipation, but in his long intervals of dejection, venting his passion in sighs and tears." On the arrival of Mr. Henry Wellesley at Lucknow in September, being menaced anew with the entire forfeiture of his dominions, the nabob gave a

Memorial
of Colonel
Scott.

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mournful sanction to the required cession with all its concomitant humiliations, and in November 1801 the treaty was duly ratified.

In the summer of 1803 the governor-general visited Lucknow in person, when a new arrangement was *proposed* to the vizier, and acceded to, after some unavailing struggles, by which he engaged not to act in any important matter without the previous advice and approval of the resident. Yet colonel Scott himself fairly and candidly says, “The last treaty (A. D. 1798) conferred on his excellency the independent and exclusive exercise of his authority. Any partial interference can be of little use, and the security afforded to the company for their pecuniary demands, seemed to remove the pretence, as well as necessity, for such interference.”

Carnatic
Question
considered,
and Papers
annexed.

In all the revolutions which had taken place in the *Carnatic* for more than forty years, the nabob Mahomed Ali Khan had distinguished himself by his attachment to the English interest; and large annual subsidies, secured by different treaties, had been regularly paid into the treasury of the honourable company. By the last of these, concluded July 1792, the nabob bound himself not to enter into any *political negotiation*, or correspondence with any

European or Native power, without the consent of the government of Fort Saint George.

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After the conquest of Seringapatam, A. D. 1799, the records of Tippoo Saib, which were found to include a series of letters received by that prince from the nabob of Arcot, fell into the hands of the conquerors. But the treaty of 1792 was far from prohibiting a civil intercourse with neutral or friendly powers; and the correspondence was not with an enemy, but a friend and ally, which was the relation maintained by Tippoo Saib with the company, from the year 1792 to 1799.

But farther than this, it appears to have been the established policy of the English government, that an amicable correspondence should subsist during the intervals of peace, between the courts of Arcot and Mysore. So far back as August 1773, the president of Fort Saint George wrote to the nabob in the following terms: "As the tranquillity of the Carnatic is of the last and highest importance, I think that every endeavour, consistent with honour and the maintenance of harmony with other powers, should be employed towards the keeping up of a good understanding with Hyder Ali Khan." The same system was pursued by that presidency, even when great jealousies subsisted respecting Hyder. "I beg," says

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the president, January 5, 1774, “your highness will on no account consider what I have said, as in any measure meant to discourage your highness from establishing a friendship with Hyder Ali Khan. I think, on the contrary, it is for the interest of the Carnatic that a good understanding should subsist between your highness and him; and that every consistent means of cultivating the same, should accordingly be made use of.”

Such was the policy not only allowed, but enjoined on the nabob; and at a recent period, by the express desire of lord Cornwallis, Ali Rhezza, the vakeel of the sultaun Tippoo Saib at Arcot, repaired to Seringapatam with instructions to promote the union of these neighbouring potentates; and in the letters which passed, a lofty interchange of compliment, in the Eastern style, would naturally and necessarily take place.

In the year 1795 occurred the death of the nabob Mahomed Ali Khan at a very advanced age. He was succeeded by his son Omdut-ul-Omrah, who, after a reign of six years, departed this life July 15, 1801, at his palace of Chepauk. Some days preceding this event, a detachment of the company's troops took possession of the palace and garden; and scarcely had that prince breathed his last, be-

fore commissioners from lord Clive, governor of Fort Saint George, presented themselves in the palace, and demanded an audience of the son of the nabob, Ali Hussein Khan, a youth of eighteen, who, reluctantly attending, seemed to be overwhelmed with affliction. He was asked what disposition his highness had made of his affairs? Upon which a paper was delivered to the commissioners, declaratory of his appointment as sole heir and successor to his father, under the guardianship of two khans as regents.

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The young prince then offered to withdraw, but was informed that the commissioners had something of importance to communicate to him in the presence of the regents only; and upon this “they produced a letter from the governor-general, accusing,” says the nabob, in his *representation* of this transaction, “my royal grandfather and my much revered father, of an improper and unjustifiable correspondence with the sultaun of Mysore, and it concluded with demanding an immediate surrender of the country of the Carnatic for an alleged breach of treaty. The regents were as much astonished as myself at this extraordinary communication: and though we were fully convinced, that no unauthorized correspondence had ever taken place

Represent-
ation of
the Prince
Ali Hus-
sein.

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between his late highness, or his predecessor, with the sultaun, yet we were so much agitated, as not to be able to afford a cool and dispassionate answer, and begged for a few days' consideration."

But a resolution had long since been taken, to make the papers containing the correspondence of the deceased sovereigns the ostensible justification for annexing the Carnatic to the vast extent of territory already belonging to the company ; though this design had been carefully concealed during the precarious life of the nabob Omdut-ul-Omrah. The governor-general now however published a declaration, purporting "that the contents of this correspondence established sufficient ground of apprehension, that their late highnesses had entered into a secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, hostile to the British interests in India."

Declara-
tion of the
Governor-
general,
July 31,
1801.

"*Moreover*, that the late nabob Omdut-ul-Omrah, subsequent to his accession to the musnûd, had manifested a determination to continue, and had actually carried on a secret correspondence of the same nature, in violation of the treaty of 1792, and had thereby incurred the *forfeiture* of the benefits of the said treaty ; and finally that the said nabobs, by thus establishing a union of interests with

Tippoo Sultaun, had placed themselves in the condition of public enemies to the British government in India.”

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The young nabob, in his public “representation,” proceeds to say, “that every enquiry was made in the interval, but that no vestige could be traced to throw the slightest stigma on the venerable names which had been thus implicated, and that the only correspondence which had taken place originated at the instance of lord Cornwallis.”

Represent-
ation of
Ali Hus-
sein Khan.

At the ensuing conference, the regents stated these particulars, and expressed their concern and surprise, that this accusation had not been made known in the life-time of his late highness ; and after much discussion, and with extreme regret, they offered to cede Tinevelly and some adjoining districts to the honourable company. This was peremptorily rejected, and other interviews proved equally unavailing ; the regents declaring “that they had no authority to engage in such disaffection, and faithlessness.” At length lord Clive, repairing in person to the palace, counselled the nabob “to consider well the terms proposed, which if he did not accept, he would be reduced from the grandeur which awaited him, to a private station.”

Ibid.

“After consulting with the regents, the

Ibid.

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khans, and the omrahs of his court, the young prince at the next meeting declared to lord Clive, that though he had been taught from his earliest years to *admire* the British nation, he could not sacrifice his own and his family's rights, but intimated his readiness to extend the cessions of territory already offered. While the prince was speaking, a number of troopers rode round the tent with drawn swords. The governor," says he, "replied, that I was extremely ill advised, and should rue the rejection of his proposal." A prediction but too soon fulfilled.

Ibid.

On the 23d July, eight days only after the demise of the late nabob, the English commissioners sent for the prince Azeem-ul-Dowla, a grandson of Mahomed Ali Khan, to the camp, and in a short time a treaty was concluded, by which the whole of the Carnatic was virtually transferred to the company; prince Azeem, now recognized as nabob, remaining a mere pageant of state. "Thinking," says the artless victim Hussein Ali Khan, "that the united sense of the reigning house, and of the most learned Mahomedan lawyers, might have had weight, I enclosed two instruments declarative of their opinions, on the act which government was about to sanction." As the last extreme of humiliation, he notified by

advice of the regents, his acceptance of the terms proposed by lord Clive. "My address," says he, "was totally disregarded. I cannot repeat the scene which followed, that insulted every noble feeling, and outraged every right." Soon after his deposition, this young prince, sinking under the pressure of his adverse fortune, desponding and broken-hearted, fell into a lingering illness. Dr. Anderson, physician to the company, a person distinguished equally by his skill and humanity, whom the prince permitted to visit him, pronounced his recovery hopeless; and after a short interval, the sufferings of Ali Hussein Khan were for ever terminated.

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"It is a great satisfaction," says the marquis Wellesley in his dispatch of October 1801, to the court of directors, "to have ultimately accomplished an object long and anxiously desired by the honourable company. The intimate connection of this happy event with the success of your arms in Mysore, forms a peculiar and interesting feature of the whole transaction." Thus making the honourable company, in some sort, accessaries after the fact; the leading circumstances of which may be summed up in a few words.

Mahomed Ali Khan, the antient ally of the company, is accused of entertaining sentiments

Carnatic
Question
considered.

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contrary to their interests; which sentiments were not known till after his decease. The *crime* therefore descends with him to the grave, the last repository of human frailty, the last refuge from human vengeance. Omdut-ul-Omrah, his successor, is also charged with harbouring the same hostile sentiments, though not matured to any specific design, or proved by a single overt act. The alleged discovery was made in 1799, and in 1801 he closed his reign and life. In the interval, no intimation is given to this prince of any violation of his engagements, no explanation or satisfaction demanded. His good and evil thoughts die with him, and his days are numbered with the years before the flood.

His son, Ali Hussein Khan, is acknowledged by all the princes of his blood, by the nobles of the realm, by the people at large, and by all the powers of Hindostan, as the lawful sovereign of the Carnatic. In this crisis the governor-general of Bengal steps forward, and tells the young prince, “that he succeeded to the condition of his father, which was that of a public enemy to the company; that he had thereby forfeited his right to the sovereignty; and requires the surrender of all his dominions.” In vain does the accused humbly plead, that he was not only innocent, but ignorant of

the crime. The reply is decisive. "If it were not you, it was your father, or at least your grandfather, which is the same thing." This is a procedure of a nature so extraordinary, that it seems less analogous to history than to fable.

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The preceding statement rests on the supposition, that the correspondence carried on by the nabobs with the sultaun, was really hostile, and disclosed views dangerous to the company. But, in fact, it contained nothing more than might be expected from the policy adopted by lord Cornwallis, and his predecessors in the government, who evidently wished, by means of this intercourse, to ascertain the secret designs of the court of Seringapatam, which could not be done without the appearance of concert and cordiality on the part of the court of Arcot.

The first papers adduced in the famous declaration in council of the governor-general, July 31st, 1801, are extracts from a dispatch of the vakeels of the sultaun, relative to the visit paid June 10th, 1792, to Mahomed Ali Khan, by the young princes his sons, then hostages in the hands of the English; when the nabob is said to have expressed himself to the following effect: "May God long preserve Tippoo Saib, who is a pillar of the religion of

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tion of the
Governor-
general,
July 31,
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Mahomed. Night and day I used to be absorbed in this contemplation, and to pray for his highness's prosperity. I call God to witness this fact, because the confederacy of the three allies was for the subversion of the Mahomedan religion. He then told us," say the vakeels, "that his life was now drawing to a close; for what had hitherto taken place there was no remedy, but he was now desirous of establishing a cordial harmony with your majesty," &c.

On the return of the visit by the nabob, lord Cornwallis and general Meadows were present. At this interview, the nabob observed to the vakeels, "that they considered him to have been an enemy; whereas he declared in the presence of God, that he was not and is not—that, on the contrary, he was a friend and well-wisher; and that he had opposed the breach between your majesty and the allies, &c.: and the nabob desired them to ask lord Cornwallis and general Meadows, whether he spoke true or not."

Ibid.

In a second visit from the young princes, the sultaun was hailed by the nabob as "the pillar of faith, the sole support of religion, the victorious and triumphant, and heaven invoked to keep him so." It must be remarked, that, in this, and all other visits, a public officer, well

versed in the Persian language, was constantly present; and the “victorious sultaun” had recently lost one half of his dominions.

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In a letter written about this period from the sultaun to his ambassadors, he says, “I have received and understand the contents of your *arzee*. It is evident, that the nabob is a pillar of the Mahomedan religion; the elect of the Almighty; a man of dignity and worldly experience. Whatever favour or attention he may shew towards my sons who are his guests and you, I shall assuredly consider as a kindness conferred upon myself. You will also state to the nabob other points of friendship, which you have repeatedly heard from my mouth.”

Ibid.

At the secret examination which took place subsequently to the *grand discovery*, Ali Rhezza, one of the vakeels, being asked, “What were the expressions which Tippoo Sultaun states you to have heard from his mouth?” answered, “I never heard any expression of friendship from his mouth.” And he acknowledged that it was customary for the vakeels to heighten the expressions of regard which fell from lord Cornwallis, or the nabob, or any other person, for the purpose of conciliating the mind of Tippoo Sultaun.

Ibid.

A letter follows to the sultaun from Gholam Ali Khan, the colleague of Ali Rhezza,

Ibid.

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announcing the departure of the latter, who, as he assures his sovereign, “is charged with a purpose of bringing to a favourable issue the propositions of lord Cornwallis, and the well-wisher of mankind,” i. e. the nabob. Upon this head, the governor-general makes a remarkable concession. “The ambiguous terms of the paper No. 7 afforded great reason to believe, that when Ali Rhezza Khan returned to Seringapatam, he was charged with some specific negotiation between the nabob and Tippoo Sultaun. By a paper, however, which was discovered *after* the date of the report of the Persian translator, it appeared that he had repaired thither at the instance of the marquis Cornwallis, and that the contents of the paper No. 7 referred to what he had to communicate on the part of his lordship and the nabob jointly!” But for this accidental discovery, therefore, here would have been another notable proof of *treason*!

Ibid.

The next communication of moment relates to intelligence conveyed by the nabob to the vakeels, “that the government of Bengal has received accounts of numerous messengers having passed to and fro, between the courts of Seringapatam and Poonah; and of the suspicions consequently entertained;” advising,

“ that as lord Cornwallis is soon to depart for Europe, if any causes of dissatisfaction remain, to postpone all claims and all complaints till the arrival of the new governor.” This counsel was so seasonable and judicious, that it might very probably originate with lord Cornwallis himself.

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In a succeeding dispatch, the nabob informs the sultaun of the war between France and England, “ in league with six or seven other powers. You will soon hear,” says he, “ that the whole of the French territory has been divided amongst others.” With happier sagacity he predicts the reduction of Pondicherry, and warns the sultaun against cultivating any connection with the French government in India. He expresses “ his confident belief that the sultaun keeps in view all the *ups and downs* of the time;” and concludes with assurances of his good wishes. “ Since the day,” says the nabob, “ that a cordial union took place between us, let me be no longer a Musulman, nor a servant of God, if I have not always offered up my prayers for the sultaun’s good, and afterwards my own.” To detach the sultaun from the interest of France, was at this crisis a point of the highest moment: and for the princes of India to offer up their pray-

Ibid.

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ers and good wishes for each other, could scarcely be construed into *treason* against the honourable company.

The next dispatches speak of two interviews between prince Omdut-ul-Omrah and the vakeels of the sultaun, “who having been invited (July 1793) to visit a mosque lately erected by the nabob, were led by the omrah into the interior of the building: and his highness then enquired, ‘whether they had full power from the sultaun, or were under the necessity of making reference upon every subject to their court?’ On being assured of the extent of their powers, the omrah declared his satisfaction, and delivered on the part of the nabob, his father, a written declaration containing high professions of regard; lamenting the want of former cordiality; and trusting that as by the favour of God a system of harmony had now taken place, the time past might be amply redeemed: and promising to detail his sentiments farther, if the sultaun discovered any solicitude on this head, previous to the expected recall of the ambassadors.”

On the second meeting, “the prince enlarged on the part of the nabob and himself, on the sincerity of their friendship and regard. He also made use of some particular expressions of his attachment, adjuring us,” say

the vakeels, “ not to commit them to writing, but to defer the communication of them until our return to your majesty.” “ Since,” continued the prince, “ I have expressed myself as I have done, merely from my regard to the *faith*, and from my friendship and good-will towards the protector of the faith, please God you will shortly be with his majesty, when you will communicate them in person.” The vakeels promised not to divulge what he had said to any one.

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That the court of Arcot, after a firm adherence to the English alliance for more than forty years, and with that deep sense of the instability of the French power in India, lately expressed to the sultaun, should entertain the remotest idea of now changing the whole system of its policy, no credulity can credit : but that the prince might use general expressions of political and religious abhorrence against both English and French, not altogether prudent to commit to writing, must be acknowledged perfectly easy of belief.

Ibid.

The ensuing document is a note written in pencil by his highness Omdut-ul-Omrah, without any address, but apparently designed for Gholaum Ali Khan. It is as follows, “ Good faith is the law of Synds. I complain of frequent neglects. Let me be sometimes

Ibid.

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called to remembrance. At all events, the marriage of the princes has rejoiced me. The presents usual on such occasions are now sent from my father. Repeat the following couplet on my part to the nabob Tippoo Sultaun.

“ In the preservation of thy person is the perpetual permanence of the faith.

“ Let *him* not remain who wisheth not thy preservation.”

Ibid.

“ Make my complaints to his highness of his not writing to me. If permission be required for stating those complaints, you will obtain it.” The sultaun, who had already decided in favour of France, placed, it seems, no confidence in the friendship of the court of Arcot, whose connection with the company he justly considered as indissoluble; and the high-flown compliments of the prince passed for nothing.

Ibid.

Next follow two letters addressed to the sultaun by the vakeels sent to Omdut-ul-Omrah, on the death of his father, A. D. 1795. They merely contain accounts of the progress of the embassy, and of their reception and treatment at Arcot. “ We are satisfied,” say the examiners of these papers, Mr. Webb and colonel Close, “ that the embassy entrusted to Mahomet Ghyauss and Mahomed Ghose Khan, was merely matter of form on the death of the nabob Wallajah.”

The two last papers appended to the declaration are filled with general professions of amity from the nabob Omdut-ul-Omrah to the sultaun. But, so far from the establishment of any real confidence between the courts of Arcot and Mysore, the vakeels Gholaum Ali Khan, and Ali Rhezza Khan, who were high in favour with the nabob, were disgraced on their return to Seringapatam on the ground of their supposed attachment to the English interest; and, in case of enquiry, the new ambassadors were instructed to say, "that the late vakeels attended the durbar as usual." Such was the nature of the evidence upon which the sovereignty of the Carnatic was declared to be *forfeited* to the honourable company, now almost openly claiming the prerogatives of lords paramount of India.

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In his public letter of May 16th, 1799, marquis Wellesley, immediately subsequent to the conquest of Mysore, declared "that the lustre of this last victory could be equalled only by the substantial advantages which it promised to establish, by restoring the peace and safety of the British possessions in India, *on a durable foundation of genuine security.*" It remained only to verify this assurance, and to realize a theory so flattering.

Dispatch
of Lord
Wellesley,
May 16th
1799.

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In the month of October 1795, Sevajee Mada Row, the young peishwa of the Mahrattas, posthumous son of Narrain Row, who had been sacrificed by the bloody usurper Ragonaut, died in consequence of a fall from the terrace or flat roof of his palace. This unfortunate accident caused for a time much confusion and civil discord, which terminated in the advancement, by general consent, of Bajee Rao, the eldest son of Ragonaut.

The original usurpation of the Peishwas had been imitated by other great officers of the empire. The commander of the army, Ragojee Boosla, a branch of the royal stock, established his dominion over the province of Berar. Another distinguished personage, Ranojee Scindia, seized that of Candeish. Guzzerat fell to the lot of the Guicwar family; and Malwa to that of Holkar. All, however, acknowledged the supremacy of the great Rajah of Setterah, and the authority of the Peishwa as his lawful representative.

Notes on
the late
Transac-
tions, &c.
by Marquis
Wellesley.

Soon after the assumption of the government by lord Wellesley, he signified, through the medium of the English resident at Poonah, his disposition “to enter into the same subsidiary engagements with the Peishwa, which now exist, *or shall hereafter be contracted*, between the English government and the Nizam of the

Decan;" at the same time declaring " that it was entirely contrary to the whole object and policy of the proposed arrangement, to extend the territories of the company at the expense of any of the parties concerned."

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Review of
the affairs
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The Peishwa, nevertheless, discovered an insurmountable disinclination to enter into these new engagements; or to suffer under any pretext, a subsidiary force to be stationed in his territories. He consented, however, to become a party in the confederacy against Tippoo Saib with the company and the Nizam; but took no very decided part in the campaign of 1799: and after the termination of the war, the governor-general declared to colonel Close, resident at Poonah, " that the Peishwa had not only been uniformly and progressively jealous of the power of the British in India, but actively hostile to the utmost practicable extent, consistently with the security of his government, and with the timidity and irresolution of his character." In the subsequent partition of Mysore, therefore, though a considerable share had been allotted to him, such conditions were purposely annexed to the grant, as the Peishwa, influenced by the counsels of Dowlut Rao Scindia, nephew and successor of Madajee Scindia who died in 1794, did not think it prudent to accept; and

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Treaty with
the Nizam,
Oct. 1800.

it was ultimately divided between the Nizam and the company.

In October 1800, a new treaty was concluded with that prince at Hyderabad. The Nizam was at that time in a state of deplorable infirmity, mental and corporeal; and under these circumstances a large addition both of subsidy and territory were obtained, carrying the British power into the heart of Hindostan.

In the summer of 1802, the eagerness of the governor-general revived for the conclusion of *an improved system of alliance* with the court of Poonah; the distractions at this time subsisting in the Mahratta states, and the successes of Jeswont Rao Holkar against the combined forces of the Peishwa and Scindia, forming a crisis highly favourable to *the interests of the company*.

Still the Peishwa, anxious as he now was to obtain the aid of the English, persisted in rejecting it on the terms proposed. He expressed, indeed, his willingness to subsidize a body of British troops to be ready for his service, but by no means to be permanently stationed in his territories. Colonel Close, therefore, after all his efforts, acknowledged “that his lordship’s *amicable and liberal views* were discordant with the disposition, and

totally adverse to the *selfish policy* of the Peishwa.”

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In the mean time, Holkar advanced rapidly towards the capital; and a general engagement taking place in the vicinity of Poonah, October 25, 1802, the Peishwa was totally defeated, and in danger of being made captive. Escaping, however, to Bassein, and seeing no other resource, he acceded without reserve to the articles in question, by which a permanent force of not less than 6000 infantry with artillery &c., was to be stationed in his highness's territories; in compensation whereof, the Peishwa ceded to the honourable company various districts in the Guzzerat, and on the Nerbudda; and the treaty of Bassein was declared to be “a treaty of alliance, of mutual defence, and *protection*,” a word of portentous sound in India!

A large body of troops under general Wellesley, brother to the marquis, advancing towards Poonah, Amrut Rao, whom Holkar had placed upon the musnud, retired at his approach; and on the 13th of May 1803, the Peishwa, Bajee-Rao, re-entered his capital in triumph. During these transactions, Scindia had collected his forces at Ougein, the capital of his own dominions, and crossed the Nerbudda early in the new year; soon after which

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colonel Collins arrived in his camp. At a public audience which took place March 24, Scindia solemnly declared "that he had no intention whatever to obstruct the recent arrangements of Bassein, though insisting that as guarantee of the former treaty of Salbye, A. D. 1782, he ought to have been consulted by the Peishwa." But colonel Collins alleged "that the continuance of Scindia with his army south of the Nerbudda could not be reconciled to any other policy than a determination to disturb those engagements; and he demanded of Scindia, to state the nature of his late negotiations with the Rajah of Berar and Holkar." To this requisition, Scindia undauntedly replied, "that he could not afford such satisfaction until a meeting should have taken place between him and the Rajah of Berar, when the British ambassador should be informed whether it should be peace or war."

In the course of forty victorious campaigns, the banners of the honourable company had been crimsoned with the blood of countless hecatombs; and under the present inviting circumstances, directions were issued to general Lake, commander-in-chief, to assemble an army on the frontier of the dominions of Scindia, who, having united his forces with those of the Rajah of Berar, and other chiefs, made

overtures to Holkar, and even to the Peishwa and the Nizam. This being a state of things somewhat alarming, general Wellesley was ordered to propose a general separation and withdrawment of troops on both sides. This caused some demur. That a negotiation was depending with Holkar, they did not deny: but they affirmed that they could not assent to such separation, so long as he remained in force against them; still, however, disavowing all resistance to the late treaty of Bassein.

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The English government, nevertheless, knew too well with what indignation and abhorrence that treaty was regarded, to place any confidence in the Mahratta chiefs; and the season of the year pressed for decision. *War* having thus become inevitable, it commenced on the 8th August by a successful assault on the fortress of Ahmedneghur; after which general Wellesley with his army crossed the Godavery, while the chieftains entered the Decan. The long expected death of the Nizam had at length taken place. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Mirza Secunder Jah, whose policy resembled that of his father, the whole secret of which consisted in abject submission to the English.

After various manœuvres, general Wellesley came in sight of the enemy September 23d,

Battle of
Assye,
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near Assye ; and determined upon an instant attack, notwithstanding the prodigious disparity of numbers. A severe action of three hours ensued ; but the victory was complete. Baroach and other fortresses in the Guzzerat were reduced by a separate force from Bombay ; and the province of Cuttac, extending to the eastern coast of the peninsula, and breaking the communication between Bengal and the Carnatic, was subdued by the troops acting in that quarter.

Since the capture of Dehli in 1784 by the Mahrattas, the emperor Shah Allum had been a sort of state prisoner in their hands ; Scindia, who commanded in the name of the infant Peishwa, being appointed regent of the empire, and wresting whatever remained of the imperial authority to his own purposes. For the defence of the imperial demesne, which included the two great cities of Dehli and Agra, this chieftain had embodied a regular military force, consisting of 16,000 men trained after the European manner by European officers, chiefly French ; with a park of artillery ; exclusive of a much larger number of native troops, the whole under the command of M. Perron, a general of ability and experience. In this person was centered an extraordinary combination of civil and military

authority; formidable even to his employers. Marquis Wellesley himself says in his dispatch June 1803, "It was generally believed that Scindia had no confidence in M. Perron's attachment to his government. In various instances M. Perron has hitherto openly disobeyed, or systematically evaded the orders of Scindia."

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Towards the close of August, general Lake advanced at the head of the grand army, with the view of attacking M. Perron, then strongly encamped near the fortress of Allyghur, which was his chief dépôt. Yet on the approach of the British, that commander made a precipitate retreat; abandoning the town of Coel on the Oude frontier, and leaving Allyghur to its own defence. It was immediately carried by storm after a desperate resistance, 2000 of the garrison being put to the sword. Shortly after this event, general Perron informing the English commander that he had resigned the service of Dowlut Rao Scindia, an escort was appointed to conduct him and the officers of his suite, with military honours, to Lucknow.

General Lake reached the vicinity of Dehli on the 11th of September (1803). Scarcely were the tents pitched, when the enemy appeared in order of battle, under M. Bourguien. The English cavalry in the van suf-

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fering from a heavy cannonade, retreated in good order, and were pursued by the foe with shouts of victory. Suddenly, however, they faced about, and opening from the centre, discovered the British infantry advancing, led by general Lake in person; and on being charged with fixed bayonets, the enemy fled in every direction. Vast numbers were killed, or driven into the stream of the Jumna; and their artillery, camp-equipage, and magazines, became the property of the victors.

This memorable battle was fought within view of the minarets of Dehli. Shortly afterwards, general Lake paid his personal respects to the emperor; being conducted to the royal presence by prince Mirza Akber Shah, the heir of the Mogul empire. The aged monarch received the conqueror with every demonstration of joy; conferring upon him the lofty titles of “sword of the state; lord of the age; the victorious in war.” The general caused arrangements to be made for the dignity and comfort of the emperor, and the imperial family; with a liberal provision for their adherents who had suffered under the late usurpation. Thus Britain acquired the glory of raising the illustrious house of Timour from the extremity of depression, and degradation.

Resuming his march, general Lake arrived October 4, at Agra, which was carried by assault; its famous citadel surrendering at discretion. In it was found a vast sum in specie. Still the greater part of the regular force remained at the distance of ten leagues. By persevering efforts the cavalry came up early November 1st with this veteran corps, then strongly posted in front of the village of Laswaree; and rashly commencing the attack, they were repulsed with loss. At noon the infantry arrived, and the conflict was renewed with determined valour. The enemy finally yielded to superiority of force, and the victory, though dearly purchased, was decisive.

In the Decan the successes of general Wellesley were uninterrupted. The city of Boorhampore, and the fortress of Asser-ghur surrendered in October; soon after which a vakeel of high rank arrived in the English camp to treat of peace. In the interim, the combined forces of Scindia and the rajah of Berar, ventured a movement towards the English, and encamped on the plains of Argaum. On the evening of the 29th of November, the army advanced against the enemy, who made a feeble defence, were quickly broken, and the moon favouring, were pursued for several miles

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by the English cavalry, with great havock and slaughter.

After this the negotiations proceeded with accelerated rapidity ; and in December 1803 advantageous treaties of peace, if extension of empire in India could constitute advantage, were concluded. The province of Cuttac was ceded to the English by the rajah ; and by Scindia the whole territory situated between the Jumna and the Ganges ; with the fortresses of Baroach and Ahmedneghur ; that chieftain renouncing, moreover, all interference in the affairs of the emperor of Hindostan.

During these warlike operations, Holkar, instead of taking a decided part in the general cause of his country, to which his military force, and still more his military talents, might have imparted a superiority fatal to European rapacity and usurpation, had maintained a jealous and temporizing neutrality. But when invited, at the close of the war, to accede to the treaties, he insisted by his vakeels, who arrived in the camp of general Lake, March 1804, upon the restitution of the antient possessions of his family in the Duab, or country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges. Though these terms were peremptorily rejected, this haughty chieftain persisted in his contumacy ; and to a farther communication

from general Wellesley, he replied with oriental pride and pomp of language: "Countries of many hundred coss should be over-run, and plundered, and burnt; the commander should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamities would fall on lacs of human beings in continued war, by the attacks of the army of Holkar, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea!" Such were the darings of this martial and famous chief.

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In April 1804 the van of the army, under colonel Monson, began its march towards Dehli, which appeared to be threatened by Holkar, who fell back on the approach of the English; and various of his fortresses were carried by assault. But the British commander, venturing too rashly into the interior of the country, was, in his turn, attacked suddenly by Holkar, and with difficulty effected his retreat to Agra; which he reached about the end of August in much disorder, and after sustaining great and heavy loss.

The way being now open to Dehli, Holkar made a desperate attempt on that capital, but met with a severe repulse; and on the advance of general Lake in person, again passed the Jumna with the main body of his cavalry, leaving the infantry strongly posted on the border of an expanse of water near Deig.

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Here they were attacked (November 13, 1804) by general Lake, and their position forced. During the action the English suffered much from the fire of the fortress of Deig, belonging to the rajah of Bhurtpore, one of the Mahratta chieftains. The commander-in-chief then passing the Jumna, overtook the enemy, November 17, near the city of Ferruckabad, and obtained a second victory; after which the fortress of Deig was reduced.

General Lake pursuing his advantages, proceeded to Bhurtpore; but this was defended by the rajah in person, with skill and valour far beyond what had hitherto been known in India; withstanding three successive assaults, in which vast numbers of lives were unavailingly sacrificed. The regular siege of the fortress then commenced, which was protracted for several months; and at last terminated by a capitulation (April 11, 1805) under all circumstances very honourable to the rajah, who was nevertheless compelled to cede the fortress of Deig, and to pay the sum of twenty lacs of rupees as an indemnity to the company.

Holkar having thus had time to collect his scattered forces, shewed himself yet formidable. He was, however, after heroic efforts, driven by superior force to the banks of the Biah, the antient Hyphasis. At this period

Scindia, alarmed at the progress of the English arms, re-commenced hostilities ; and the affairs of India were still in a very disordered state, when lord Cornwallis, after a prosperous voyage, happily arrived at Madras in the month of July 1805.

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Proceeding immediately to Bengal, he with too little regard to his health and advanced age, prepared to take the command of the army in person ; but with the same disposition as formerly to terminate hostilities by an equitable and permanent peace. His beneficent designs were, however, suddenly frustrated by the stroke of death, which overtook him in his progress through the provinces, at Gazeepore in Benares, October 5, 1805 ; thus closing a long life devoted to the service of the public : and enjoying the esteem and approbation of the wise and good of every party, and of every clime. He was provisionally succeeded by the senior member in council, sir George Barlow ; by whom treaties were in December (1805) concluded both with Holkar and Scindia ; in virtue of which the two Mahratta chiefs were, with some slight exceptions, reinstated in their former possessions.

So far was the court of directors from approving the conduct of the late governor-general marquis Wellesley, that a memorable letter,

Proposed
Dispatch
of the Court
of Directors,
April
3, 1805.

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signed by twenty-three out of the twenty-four members of that body, and containing a most severe censure on the general policy of his government, civil as well as military, was on the eve of transmission to India, when the board of control, at which lord Castlereagh then presided, interposed its *veto*.

Freely acknowledging the services performed by lord Wellesley in the early part of his administration, they declare “that in the course of his proceedings for some years past, there appears such a series of deviations from the constitution established by law for the government of British India, and from the usages of their service, that the character of the Indian government had in his hands undergone an essential change. The powers of the supreme council have been completely absorbed; and with regard to foreign relations, although the law has not only prescribed principles of moderation, justice, and good faith towards all the native powers, but expressly forbidden schemes of conquest and aggrandisement, the spirit and intentions of that salutary regulation have been signally violated; and the company plunged deeper than ever in wars, which have been directed by the personal authority of the governor-general.”

“The deputation of the honourable Henry Wellesley to negotiate a treaty with the nabob of Oude, under instructions from the governor-general *solely*, cannot be considered otherwise, than as an assumption of authority on the part of the governor-general, not warranted by act of parliament. Orders have been issued, and carried into operation previous to their being brought on the record.

“The governor-general by his own authority, independently of his council, could not legally issue the orders to lieutenant-general Lake, and major-general Wellesley (April 16, 1804) directing hostilities to be commenced against Jeswont Rao Holkar.

“It appears to have been the intention of marquis Wellesley, to concentrate all the powers of British India in the person of the governor-general. Of this, the extraordinary powers given to generals Lake and Wellesley, and colonel Murray, by which the political and military authority of the subordinate governments (of Bombay in particular) within the sphere of the operations of those officers was completely superseded, afford examples.”

“It seems,” say the directors, “to have been the general practice of marquis Wellesley, to commence his political negotiations

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without communicating his intentions to the council, and not to record his correspondence on the consultations, until such negotiations were terminated or suspended." And they complain of his "withholding from the records all information upon points of great political importance. So that the government at home is totally precluded from issuing any orders relative thereto." After touching on the rapidly increasing expenditure of the general government, and the stile of Asiatic pomp affected by the marquis, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of the company's finances, the directors proceed to the consideration of political topics of the highest moment. "The late arrangement with the nabob of Oude," say they, "under the specious form of a treaty, can be considered in no other light than as a direct infraction of the treaty of 1798, and as wresting from him a portion of his territorial dominions; not as the consequence of any breach of engagements on his part, but in pursuance of views formed by the governor-general contrary to the established policy prohibiting the acquirement of any additional territory.

"Equally unjustifiable were the subsequent negotiation and treaty with the nabob of Fer-ruckabad, for assuming the civil and military

government of that province, the nabob at the same time declaring his want of power to make any objection to whatever was proposed to him.”

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In relation to the treaty of Bassein, the directors say, “When we consider, that it was not till after the total defeat by Holkar of the joint forces of the Peishwa and Scindia, and at the moment of the Peishwa’s flight from Poonah, that he consented to a general defensive alliance, we are of opinion that upon principles of just policy, the negotiation at that critical period ought to have been suspended, rather than that the company should have entered into engagements with a fugitive prince, on conditions which he had repeatedly rejected. Besides, the very nature of the condition by which we were to restore the Peishwa to his dominions, had an inevitable tendency to involve the company in immediate hostilities with the other Mahratta chiefs. The treaty of Bassein is also liable to legal objection. The acts of the 24th and 33d of the King, forbid the government in India to enter into any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country, prince, or state, but upon such prince or state actually engaging to assist the company against any state then in hostility or under preparations of hostility against them.”

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“ To the same objection in point of legality, is the treaty of 1800 with the subardar of the Decan likewise liable,” although in consequence of the remonstrance delivered to the Nizam by our resident in public durbar, his highness was induced to give the most solemn and distinct recognition of the principles of the alliance; and executed an additional article in the treaty to that purpose; yet we fear that the sentiments, and disposition of the nizam, and his subjects, adverse to the company’s alliance, remain unaltered. The feelings of the minister at Hydrabad, during the last *negotiation* for commuting subsidy into territory, must have been very acute when he exclaimed, “ Surely, there must be some bounds to demand and concession, lest the city of Hydrabad should be claimed of us next.”

“ In fine,” say the directors, “ the territories which we have lately acquired under these treaties,” viz. of Lucknow, of Bassein, and Hydrabad, “ with others of a similar kind, and by conquest, are of so vast and extensive a nature, and the engagements lately concluded with the several chiefs and rajahs, so complicated, that we cannot take a view of our situation, and of the political relations in which we now stand towards the various

Indian powers, without being seriously impressed with the wisdom and necessity of that solemn declaration of the legislature, ‘That to pursue schemes of conquest, and extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation.’”

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HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE III.

BOOK XXXVIII.

TREATIES concluded with Sweden and Russia. Napoleon declared King of Italy. Third War with Austria. Capitulation of Ulm. Battle of Austerlitz. Treaty of Presburg. Victory of Trafalgar. Death of Mr. Pitt. Total change of Ministry. Impeachment of Lord Melville. Conquest of the Cape. King of Naples deposed by the French. Negotiation for Peace. Death of Mr. Fox. His character. Louis Bonaparte declared King of Holland. Battle of Jena. War between Russia and Turkey. Expedition against Buenos Ayres. Act for abolishing the Slave-trade. Catholic Army and Navy bill. Dismission of the Whig Administration. New Parliament convened, June 1807. Battle of Friedland. Treaty of Tilsit. Deposition of the Grand Seignor Selim III. Expedition against Denmark. Capture of Copenhagen.

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1805.
Treaties
with Swe-
den and
Russia.

THE transactions of the year 1805, in Europe, were very memorable. It was the anxious wish of Mr. Pitt, on his return to office, to form a new confederacy of the continental powers

against France, with too little consideration of the depressed state of Austria, and the adverse policy of Prussia. The king of Sweden indeed, irritated rather by contempt than serious injury from the French emperor, had already signed (December 1804) a subsidiary convention with Great Britain; and in the ensuing spring, a treaty was concluded with Russia; the objects of which were, I. the evacuation of Hanover; II. the independence of Holland and Switzerland; III. the restoration of Piedmont to the king of Sardinia; IV. the security of Naples; V. the establishment of an order of things in Europe which might present a solid barrier against future usurpation. But the absolute refusal of Austria to become a party to this new league, paralyzed its projected operations.

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The inflexible resolution of the court of London, not to hearken to any overture of peace from France, was evident, not merely from the omission of all enquiry as to the nature of the *proofs* which Napoleon had declared himself ready to give of his sincerity, and from the invidious terms in which the overture itself had been mentioned in the King's speech, but still more openly from this confederacy with Russia, which, without any attempt at accommodation, was signed April

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11, (1805). At this period also were revived all those alleged violations of the rights of the neutral flag, which it was the professed object of the convention concluded at St. Petersburg, A.D. 1801, to mitigate and modify.

The French ruler, finding his recent attempt at reconciliation, no less than the former overture of 1800, contemned and rejected, and new plans of hostility adopted against him, entered upon vigorous measures of counteraction.

Napoleon
declared
King of
Italy.
March 19.

Without delay, therefore, and in pursuance of an application, easily obtained from the constituted authorities of the Italian republic, he assumed the title of king of Italy; the ceremony of his coronation being performed May 26 (1805) in the cathedral of Milan; he himself taking from the altar the iron crown of Charlemagne, and placing it on his head, amidst the loudest acclamations. Whilst Napoleon was still at Milan, a grand deputation from the republic of Genoa, consisting of the Doge and some of the most illustrious senators, arrived in that city with an adulatory address, requesting to be united to the Gallic empire. This was graciously acceded to, but the French emperor voluntarily engaged that the crowns of France and Italy should never be incorporated; and that as soon as circumstances admitted, he himself would resign the

latter, the constitution empowering him to nominate his successor. The example of Genoa was quickly followed by the contiguous republic of Lucca.

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Previous to this event the emperor Alexander, seeing no prospect of obtaining the accession of the court of Vienna to the new confederacy, had resolved to send his grand chamberlain, count Novosiltzoff, as ambassador to Paris, for the purpose of treating with the French government: and that nobleman had actually reached Berlin on his way thither, when the alarming transactions in Italy determined the emperor Francis II. to measures of hostility. In a note presented by Novosiltzoff to the court of Berlin, July 10, (1805,) that minister acknowledged "the receipt of passports from the chief of the French government, consenting to negotiate without the recognition of his new title. But by a fresh transgression of the most solemn treaties, the union of the Ligurian republic with France had been effected. This terminated the sacrifices which Russia would have made in the hope of restoring tranquillity to Europe; and he had, in consequence, received orders from his imperial majesty to return the passports as useless."

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Austria
joins the
new Coali-
tion against
France.

In the declaration issued on the same occasion by the emperor of Austria, he expressed “the hope which he had entertained from the pacific proposal made by *his majesty the emperor of the French*, and the moderate and conciliating disposition manifested by the courts of Petersburg and London, in the mission of M. Novosiltzoff to Paris, offered and accepted with equal alacrity. It was therefore with the deepest regret that the emperor has learned that this mission had been cut short by the recent changes in the condition of the republics of Genoa and Lucca.” Yet in this declaration, delivered early in August by the Austrian ambassador to M. Talleyrand, the court of Vienna invited the renewal of the negotiation recently broken off; and offered its earnest assistance to render it effectual. This, however, was but a cover to its real designs; for on the 9th of the same month the formal accession of Austria to the new confederacy was signed at Petersburg.*

* Although the court of London would neither at this period recognize the emperor Napoleon in his new capacity, nor accede to his overture of negotiation, it appears that the late ministers inclined to a policy much less hazardous and violent. “Two days before lord Whitworth left Paris,” said the ex-emperor to Mr. O’Meara, “an offer was made to the minister and to others about me of thirty millions of francs,

The formidable preparations for war by that power, soon attracted the attention of France; but to the explanations demanded, ambiguous and unsatisfactory answers were returned; and before the end of August the camp was broken up at Boulogne, and orders issued for the French armies to cross the Rhine. In this state of things it was impossible for Bavaria to maintain its neutrality, and the elector was peremptorily required to join his troops with those of Austria. The hatred of Bavaria to that arrogant power was inveterate and hereditary. Upon the present occasion, after a vain attempt to temporize, the elector suddenly withdrew with his court to Wurtzburg, and the Austrians entered Munich early in September without opposition. Agreeably to the plan of operations adopted by the well-known favourite of the emperor, general Mack,

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1805.

Invasion of
Bavaria.

and to acknowledge me as *king of France*, provided I would give you up Malta." Vol. I. p. 177. Again—"The English ministers offered through lord Whitworth thirty millions of francs, and to assist as much as lay in their power to make me *king of France* if I would consent to their retaining Malta." Vol. II. p. 20. And p. 349, "Before she violated the peace of Amiens, the English government offered by M. Malhouet to acknowledge me as king of France if I would agree to the cession of Malta." Of such an offer pride and presumption only could have prompted the refusal.

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now unfortunately appointed to the chief command, a strong position was taken on the banks of the Lech, there to await the enemy, while the archduke Charles was stationed at the head of a numerous army on the Adige.

French invasion of Germany, by the Marshals Bernadotte and Marmont, from Lower Saxony and Holland.

Towards the end of September the emperor Napoleon reached Strasburg. Being joined by general Bernadotte from Lower Saxony, and marshal Marmont from Holland, he advanced rapidly into the heart of Germany; and at Wurtzburg he was reinforced by the Bavarians. Thence he directed his march along the northern bank of the Danube, intending to cut off the communication between the Russians and the Austrians under general Mack. That commander, deceived by false demonstrations and the skilful manœuvres of general Murat on the Upper Rhine, supposed the passes of the Black Forest to be threatened, and, advancing from the Lech to the Iller, at length encamped under the walls of Ulm.

The grand army of the French, proceeding by forced marches through the territory of Anspach belonging to Prussia, reached Munich about the middle of October; while marshal Bernadotte had crossed the Danube at Donawert, and marshal Soult seized upon Augsburg in the rear of Mack, who, having originally taken too remote a station, was, in consequence

of his late movements, completely insulated. The utmost confusion now prevailed in the Austrian army; and after a variety of partial, though bloody conflicts, the Austrians were compelled to take refuge within the walls of Ulm, which was invested by Bonaparte in person; and before the end of October, general Mack terminated a series of the grossest errors by an ignominious capitulation, conformably to which, the shattered remains of a veteran and well-appointed army of 70,000 men surrendered prisoners of war; the archduke Ferdinand, at the head of a body of cavalry, alone making good his retreat. Upon this occasion Bonaparte made to the Austrian generals a haughty boast of his moderation. "I wish," said he, "for nothing upon the Continent. France desires only to possess ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is for the advantage of Austria that we should obtain them."

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1805.
Capitulation of
Ulm.

Astonishment, no less than consternation, was the result of the late disaster. In a proclamation issued by the emperor Francis, nevertheless, he professed "to stand calm and firm in the midst of twenty-five millions of people dear to his heart;" and alluding to what had often, with almost excusable superstition, been stiled "the *miracle* of the house of Austria," he observed, that by its fortitude

Proclamation of the
Emperor
Francis,
October 26,
1805.

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Napoleon
enters
Vienna.

the Austrian monarchy had arisen from every storm which menaced it at former periods."

The first division of the Russians, under general Kutosof, had by this time joined the Austrian troops on the banks of the Inn, under general Kienmayer; and a general levy of troops was ordered in Hungary and other parts of the Austrian dominions. On the other hand, the armies of France were strengthened by the contingents of Wirtemberg and Baden.

Early in November marshal Bernadotte crossed the Inn; soon after which the important fortress of Braunau, containing immense magazines, surrendered almost without resistance; the Austrians retreating beyond the Ems. The second division of the Russians was still at a distance, while Bonaparte established himself at Lintz; and at that city he received an overture of negotiation; to which he replied in the stile of a conqueror, that the Russian forces should return home; that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded; and that the Austrian armies should evacuate Italy and the Tyrol. To such terms it was impossible to accede: and Vienna being regarded as indefensible, the emperor withdrew into Moravia, and on the 14th of November Napoleon entered the Austrian capital in triumph.

The archduke Charles, who had in Italy been opposed to marshal Massena, being called upon, early in the campaign, for large reinforcements to strengthen the army of general Mack, was compelled to remain on the defensive, and, after the catastrophe of Ulm, thought only on retreat; and passing the Tagliamento, he reached the frontier of Hungary towards the close of November, leaving the Venetian territory, the Tyrol, and the Frioul, with the important maritime city of Trieste, in the hands of the enemy.

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1805.
Operations
in Italy.

The court of Berlin had taken high offence at the violation of its neutrality, by the march of the French through Anspach. Animated with fresh hopes, the emperor Alexander visited that capital in person; and lord Harrowby was dispatched from England to second his efforts. But the Prussian counsels were feeble and fluctuating, and on the capitulation of Ulm this flattering speculation vanished into air.

Indecision
of the
Court of
Berlin.

From Vienna marshal Davoust, at the head of his division, proceeded to Hungary; but on his approach towards Presburg, he received overtures from the archduke Palatine; and after a short discussion, a convention was signed, importing that the neutrality of that kingdom should be recognized, and all military preparations for offence or defence, discontinued.

Neutrality
of Hun-
gary.

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This measure was, doubtless, forced by the states upon the emperor; who being thus deprived of his chief resource, again proposed to negotiate. But the second division of the Russians, commanded by the czar, had at length arrived at Olmutz, now the head-quarters of the emperor Francis; and troops assembling from all quarters, a new army was formed, consisting of about 80,000 men. The French took a strong position at Austerlitz, in the vicinity of Olmutz, fortified with redoubts, entrenchments, and batteries.

Battle of
Austerlitz.

On the 2d December 1805, the allies, under the conduct of general Kutosof and the prince of Lichtenstein, advanced towards the enemy. A grand movement was quickly seen for the purpose of turning the right of the French. This had been anticipated by Napoleon, and the allies found themselves unexpectedly opposed with equal force in that quarter by marshal Davoust. In the mean time the French emperor sustained by the marshals Bernadotte, Lasnes, and Berthier, was closely engaged with the main body. But the heights which separated the division opposed to Davoust from the rest of the army, being carried by marshal Soult, those troops were entirely surrounded; and in attempting a retreat, numbers were slaughtered, and many in passing a lake,

of some extent slightly frozen over, perished by the breaking of the ice. The right and centre of the allies also, after a great display of courage, yielded to superior force; and left the French masters of the field. An hundred pieces of cannon and more than 20,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, attested the triumph of Napoleon. This was stiled by the French, the Battle of the Emperors, in imitation probably, as Napoleon affected classical allusions, of the battle of Ipsus, so famous in antiquity under the appellation of the Battle of the Kings.

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Two days after the engagement, an interview took place between the emperors of France and Austria; and an armistice was agreed upon, to which the emperor of Russia acceded; and the Russian armies immediately withdrew from Germany. A convention was signed nearly at the same time by France with Prussia; by which Hanover, though professedly retained only as a pledge for Malta, was provisionally exchanged for Anspach, Cleves, Neufchatel, and Valengin. A definitive treaty between France and Austria was concluded December 26 (1805) at Presburg, by the terms of which the Venetian territory west of the Adriatic was united to the kingdom of Italy. The Greek provinces east of the Gulph were

Treaty of
Presburg.

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ceded to France. The electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg were advanced to the dignity of kings. The Tyrol and Burghausen with the principality of Eichstade were ceded to Bavaria; and the Brisgau and Ortenau to Wirtemberg and Baden. In return, the new electorate of Saltzburg was incorporated with the Austrian empire, and Wurtzburg assigned in compensation to the archduke Ferdinand.

Naval operations.

The system of naval blockade had been recently revived, though disapproved by great naval authorities. Early nevertheless in this year a French squadron escaped from Rochefort, and crossing the Atlantic made an unsuccessful attack on the isles of Dominique and St. Christopher. The Toulon fleet also found means to form a junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz; and sir John Orde, who commanded in that quarter, withdrew from the unequal contest.

The destination of the combined fleets thus remained long unknown; but in May they appeared off Martinique while lord Nelson was anxiously seeking them in the Levant. Having visited Alexandria and traversed the Mediterranean, he repaired to Palermo; whence, from intelligence there received, he hastily departed for the West Indies, arriving June 4 at Barbadoes. But the enemy were now on their voyage back to Europe; and on the 15th July,

Action off
Cape Finis-
terre.

off Cape Finisterre, they fell in with a British fleet of fifteen sail of the line under sir Robert Calder. A sharp engagement ensued, which ended in the capture of the San Raffael of eighty-four, and the Firme of seventy-four guns ; but the enemy being still much superior in force, the British admiral declined to renew the combat. For this he incurred the severe censure of the public ; and on his demanding a court martial, he was reprimanded, notwithstanding his gallantry in the action, for failing to do his utmost.

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The combined fleets stood for Ferrol, whence with a large reinforcement they sailed to Cadiz. Lord Nelson reached Gibraltar about the time of the late action, but again disappointed, he returned to Spithead in August. After a short repose, he once more sailed to take the command of the Mediterranean fleet before Cadiz, amounting to twenty-seven ships of the line, mostly of the largest rate. The blockade being purposely raised, the combined fleets consisting of thirty-three sail of the line put to sea, under the admirals Villeneuve and Gravina, and they were quickly descried off Cape Trafalgar.

Victory of
Trafalgar.

In conformity to a novel mode of attack previously concerted, the British fleet, October 21st, bore down upon the enemy in two co-

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Death of
Lord
Nelson.

lums, led by the admirals Nelson and Collingwood. About noon, the former in the *Victory* broke through the adverse line at the tenth ship from the van, as the latter nearly at the same distance from the rear. Though thrown into extreme confusion, the enemy fought with great valour, but the success was complete. About three p. m. nineteen ships had struck their colours, including the French commander Villeneuve, and two other flags. Four ships escaping from the fight were subsequently captured by sir Richard Strahan off Ferrol. The loss of the enemy was incalculable; that of the victors amounted to near 1600 killed and wounded; but the loss most deeply felt and lamented was that of the commander-in-chief, who fell by a musquet ball in the heat of the action: "a hero," says admiral Collingwood, "whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country." The visions of invasion were from this moment at an end.

The mortal remains of the deceased being conveyed to England, were interred with the highest public honours; and having left no son, the title of earl Nelson, with a permanent revenue annexed, was, by an act of national and enthusiastic gratitude, conferred upon his brother, a private clergyman, all parties on

this occasion vying in their expressions of grief and admiration.

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A treaty of neutrality had been concluded in September, between France and Naples; and the French force under general St. Cyr, previously stationed in the Neapolitan territory, joined the army in Lombardy. A combined armament of English and Russians, said to have on board 10,000 British, and 14,000 Russian troops, disembarked soon afterwards in that kingdom, not only without opposition, but with every appearance of encouragement from the monarch, who was prevented from openly declaring himself, only by the speedy termination of the contest. The emperor Alexander then recalled his forces to Corfu, and the British general sir James Craig withdrew into Sicily. The perfidy of the king of Naples so moved the indignation of the emperor Napoleon, that on the very next day succeeding the signature of the treaty of Presburg, he issued a declaration, declaring "that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign."

1805.
Neutrality
of Naples.

Since the return of Mr. Pitt to office, scarcely any thing had occurred, the great victory of Trafalgar excepted, but disaster and disappointment. Toward the end of the year he had retired to Bath, and appeared to receive benefit from the waters; but the fatal intelli-

Illness and
Death of
Mr. Pitt.

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1805.

gence of the battle of Austerlitz produced an agitation of spirits which visibly increased his disorder: and returning to his villa near London, he breathed his last on the 23d January, 1806. Of this minister the most adverse portraits have been drawn, yet both retaining strong points of resemblance.

“In the unexampled success of his early years,” say his opponents, “his future faults and failings originated. This it was which inspired him with extravagant ideas of himself; and it was soon perceived that he possessed no quality of youth but its presumption. Instead of inheriting the noble feelings and enthusiasm of his father in the cause of liberty, the movements of the public mind were under his auspices uniformly retrograde; and doctrines long exploded were revived, and became again the creed of the court and its partizans. Never were his efforts directed to calm the passions of the multitude, or to inform their ignorance; and in the violent collision of opinions, popular errors were unhappily propagated with most pernicious effect.

“The re-establishment of the sinking fund, ‘that monument of his fame,’ was called for by the voice of the nation, but the specific provision made by this minister was very inadequate to the incalculable importance of the

object; scarcely exceeding the amount of the original fund created by sir Robert Walpole, when the national debt was not a fourth part so large, and the national wealth would bear no comparison. The extravagance of his expenditure during the war, far exceeded all precedent; and the expedient of war taxes too long delayed, totally failed under his management. The eloquence of Mr. Pitt, so much celebrated, was characterized chiefly by amplification; and he displayed in perfection all the modes and subtilties of reasoning; but the connection between the means and the end appeared seldom intimate in his thoughts, and was rarely exemplified in his conduct. He seemed a stranger to the finer sensibilities of the heart, and in no instance extended his patronage to literature, the sciences, or the arts."

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On the other hand, the numerous advocates of Mr. Pitt extol "the unsullied and lofty rectitude of his general character; his courage, his constancy, the vigour and vigilance of his counsels, in the most critical circumstances, and under the most appalling dangers. He was the watchful as well as the faithful guardian of the state; and executed his high trust with fearlessness as well as fidelity, setting unjust censure at defiance; and conscious that his early efforts in

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behalf of reform did not preclude him from standing forward as the foe of anarchy. No minister, in fine, say they, ever attended less to his own interest, or was more ardently solicitous to advance the honour and happiness of his country than this great, this eloquent, and excellent statesman."

Of these opposing elements, modified in a thousand different forms, and diversified by endless lights and shades, must the character of Mr. Pitt in the impartial records of history be delineated. During the last period of his life, he was the grand opponent of the extraordinary person now advanced to the dignity of emperor of the French; but in that capacity the wisdom of the measures concerted by the English minister, was much less apparent than their boldness and energy; and on all occasions the star of Bonaparte still gained the ascendant.

Session of
Parliament
Jan. 1806.

The parliament was opened by commission on the 21st January 1806. In the speech from the throne the late naval victory was characterized as "an exploit beyond all precedent. The King deplored the necessity which the emperor of Germany had felt, of withdrawing from the contest; but was consoled in the prospect of the unshaken adherence of the emperor of Russia; and expressed his full confidence in the unexhausted resources of his

dominions." In the ensuing debate lord Grenville remarked, "that the state of the country imperiously called for investigation, but that circumstances painful to his feelings, induced him to postpone the discussion." In the commons lord Henry Petty acknowledged his intention to move an amendment to the address; but as "circumstances which he deeply lamented, prevented the attendance of the individual most interested to defend the measures of government, he should make it the subject of a future motion." The addresses were presented on the 23d, the day of Mr. Pitt's decease.

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After a short interval, Mr. Lascelles moved "that the late minister be interred at the public expense, and a monument with a suitable inscription be erected to the memory of that *excellent statesman*." It was impossible that the motion thus worded, should pass unanimously; and it was opposed by many distinguished members, who avowed their conviction of his integrity and their admiration of his talents. Among these was Mr. Windham, who declared, "that he could not concur in stiling Mr. Pitt 'an excellent statesman;' and that the motion did not rest on the basis of historical truth." Mr. Fox said "that no one was more ready to acknowledge the private and

Honours
paid to the
late Minister.

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even, in many respects, the public virtues of Mr. Pitt. His great eloquence and splendid talents cast a veil over the system upon which he acted; and concealed its deformity. And however desirous he might be to bury in oblivion former contests, he could not consent to confer public honours on his memory, upon the ground of his being *an excellent statesman*." Lord Castlereagh pronounced this "to be a question of feeling, rather than of argument; and he urged that the house would act inconsistently with its own opinion repeatedly expressed, if it hesitated to recognize the merits of Mr. Pitt; and he confessed that had *he* framed the motion, it would have been couched in much stronger terms." The numbers on the division were 258 to 89. The sum of 40,000*l.* was subsequently voted for the discharge of his debts. This was approved by Mr. Fox, who allowed "that Mr. Pitt was entitled to form a distinguished part of any administration framed on general principles, and with a view to general advantage; and he adverted with delicacy to the late effort of Mr. Pitt previous to his acceptance of office, as evincing the absence of all feelings of political animosity on his part."

Total
Change of
Ministers.

It was known to be the desire of the King, on the present vacancy, to place lord Hawkes-

bury at the head of the treasury; but that nobleman prudently declined the offer: upon which lord Grenville was sent for, and empowered to form a new arrangement including Mr. Fox, who had now been estranged from the royal councils more than twenty years. After a short interval, the new appointments were announced as follows: lord Grenville first lord of the treasury, and lord Henry Petty chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, and earl Spencer, secretaries for the foreign, war, and home departments; Mr. Erskine, created lord Erskine, superseded lord Eldon as chancellor; and Mr. Grey lord Barham in the admiralty. To viscount Sidmouth was given the privy seal, and earl Fitzwilliam was made president of the council. The earl of Moira succeeded the earl of Chatham as master of the ordnance; and these, with the addition of lord Ellenborough, chief-justice of the king's bench, constituted the cabinet. Of the subordinate promotions, lord Minto was placed at the head of the India board; general Fitzpatrick was appointed secretary at war; and Mr. Sheridan treasurer of the navy: sir Arthur Pigot and sir Samuel Romilly were nominated attorney and solicitor generals. In Ireland, the duke of Bedford succeeded the earl of Hardwicke as lord-lieutenant of that

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Lord Gren-
ville first
Lord of the
Treasury.

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kingdom; and Mr. Ponsonby lord Redesdale as chancellor.

In this arrangement the nation saw, in the aggregate, an uncommon combination of integrity and talent, and great expectations were formed of the happy result of the new counsels. But, though the most attached friends of Mr. Fox were far from disapproving the junction with lord Grenville, and were fully sensible of the honour with which that nobleman had acted, they were not prepared to expect his advancement to the pre-eminent station of first lord of the treasury. Scarcely, indeed, could it be imagined that lord Grenville would deem himself legally qualified to hold that high office with the patent place, which he already possessed, of auditor of the exchequer. The admission of the chief-justice into the cabinet was also regarded as unconstitutional. Lord H. Petty, a young nobleman of the highest hopes, had too little experience in business to have acquired the requisite qualifications as chancellor of the exchequer; and much inconvenience was foreseen from the eccentricities of Mr. Windham in his capacity of secretary of state; while the great parliamentary talents of Mr. Grey, whom the public voice had destined to the treasury, were lost in the official duties of first lord of the admiralty; and with

deep regret it was perceived that Mr. Francis, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Thomas Grenville, whose merits had been so long and so well known, were not included in this arrangement. But the circumstance most alarming was the precarious state of Mr. Fox's health, which rendered him unequal to the fatigues of office; and particularly to the labour of parliamentary debate, the chief weight of which, according to the present unfortunate distribution of offices, must necessarily fall upon himself.

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The first official act of Mr. Fox, as minister of the house of commons, was the moving for a bill to enable the first lord of the treasury to hold, at the same time, the auditorship of the exchequer; he performing the duties of the latter by deputy. This measure was viewed with universal astonishment. It could not fail to be remembered that in more jealous times this junction formed an article of impeachment against lord Halifax; though, in fact, that nobleman had, as it appeared from his defence, resigned the office of auditor on his acceptance of the treasury.

Bill of
Indulgence
to Lord
Grenville.

The tory opposition, from a state of deep depression, at once assumed a tone of energy. "The two offices," it was said, "could never legally, and in fact were never held by the same person. The office of auditor was a

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check upon the treasurer; and no money could be issued from the exchequer without the previous assignment of the auditor." The attorney-general admitted that a trustee under legal responsibility, ought to be substituted for a deputy removable at pleasure; and in this form the bill, which no amendment could render just or constitutional, passed through both houses.

Bill of
Severity to
Lord Mel-
ville.

On the motion of Mr. Whitbread, a bill to indemnify from civil actions, all such persons as having served in the navy office, should be called upon to give evidence on the impeachment of lord Melville, passed, after much debate, into a law; though in the upper house forcibly opposed by lord Eldon, who quoted the words of lord Hardwicke on the famous indemnity bill *rejected* by the peers in 1742, "that he would much rather be the object of the bill than the author of it."

Resolution
moved
against
Chief-Jus-
tice Ellen-
borough.
H. of L.

Upon the 3d of March the earl of Bristol, after enlarging on the necessity of keeping the judicial, entirely free from the legislative and executive functions, concluded by moving a resolution, "that it is inexpedient and derogatory to the constitutional administration of justice, to summon to any committee of privy council, any of the judges of his majesty's courts of common law."

In the discussion which arose, lord Eldon asked, "What would have been the situation of the chief-justice, before whom the persons accused of sedition and treason were tried in 1794, had he previously sat in judgment upon those persons in the cabinet? Lord Mansfield had indeed been a member of the cabinet; but that very circumstance hung like a dead weight upon him, during the last thirty years of his life." Lord Mulgrave thought it strange "that an administration which boasted of containing 'all the talents of the country,' should think it necessary to go so far out of the way, as to make the chief-justice of England a member of the cabinet. A chief-justice who performed the duties of his office, had no time to devote to political studies." Lord Hawkesbury declared, "that he saw in the mixed character of politician and judge, serious cause of alarm. If they did not go back to *bad times* previous to the revolution, the sole instance of such an appointment was lord Mansfield, who, he knew, had at a late period of his life intimated his regret at having ever been drawn into that situation. The case of a lord chief-justice differed totally from that of a lord-chancellor, who was properly the King's legal adviser, and who possessed only a civil jurisdiction." Such was the constitutional

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Ld. Eldon.Lord Mul-
grave.Lord
Hawkes-
bury.

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language of the ex-ministers; but the resolution was at length negatived without a division.

House of
Commons.
Mr. Can-
ning.

On a similar motion the same day in the house of commons, Mr. Canning remarked, “that it was essential to the due administration of justice, that a judge should not be called upon to decide on his judgment-seat what he had already decided upon in the cabinet as a minister. This mischief was particularly likely to happen in the case of *prosecutions for libel* on the part of the government. As the rights of the people and the privileges of parliament were valued, this association ought to be deprecated.”

Lord Cas-
tlereagh.

Lord Castlereagh declared the appointment not sustainable on any ground of constitutional policy: and the estrangement of the chief-justice from his high and dignified functions to a situation which made him necessarily a politician, and even the member of a party, to be a most unwise and unjustifiable procedure. It was bringing the judicial character into disrepute and suspicion; and the only direct precedent, that of lord Mansfield, with all its concomitant circumstances, amounted to a condemnation of the measure; nor was the public opinion ever more decided on any question than the present. The motion was ultimately

negatived by 222 to 65 voices; but the inauspicious omens under which the whig administration commenced its career, were seen and felt with extreme concern.

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As Mr. Windham had avowed, in terms of unqualified vehemence, his disapprobation of the volunteer system, he was loudly called upon to produce his own plan of defence. This he unfolded in a speech chiefly interesting by the developement of a scheme for increasing the regular army by enlistments for limited service; the infantry for seven, and the cavalry for ten years. Though these terms were deemed by many persons too short, the experiment itself was generally allowed to be truly constitutional; and it received the sanction of some of the most eminent military characters. It did not pass, however, without much debate; in the course of which lord Castlereagh affirmed “the state of the country to be prosperous and flourishing, and that the present ministers *reposed on a bed of roses!*” The general project of increasing the regular military force, and diminishing the number of volunteers, was supported by arguments perfectly solid and convincing; and the bills in question passed by great majorities. But Mr. Windham gave extreme offence by throwing out reflections the most rude and insulting

Military
Defence
Bill of Mr.
Windham.

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upon the volunteers, whom he stiled “a mass of imbecility,” “a depôt of panic,” with other phrases of the same cast peculiar to his stile of eloquence.

Annual
statement
of Finance.

On the 28th March the chancellor of the exchequer opened his plan of finance for the year. Upon this occasion he made the appalling statement, that the national unredeemed debt amounted to 556,000,000. The requisite supplies were estimated at 44,000,000: for the raising of which he proposed a loan of 18,000,000, and an augmentation of the war-taxes to 19,500,000*l.* chiefly by an increase of the property-tax to its former rate of ten per cent. This was a very unpopular though an indispensable measure. But a more reasonable objection was made to the proposition of an excise duty on the private brewery; which, had it been persevered in, would have proved not less odious than the cyder-tax of lord Bute. It was however wisely relinquished, and an addition of ten per cent. to the assessed taxes substituted.

American
Intercourse
Act.

Among the salutary acts of this session may be accounted that which passed for legalizing, under certain restrictions, the trade for lumber and provisions, between the West India islands and the United States of America. Mr. Pitt, under the enlightened administration of the

earl of Shelburne, would have carried this amicable system to a much greater extent, had not the commercial and political prejudices of that time defeated his intention.

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By an act founded on the reform bill of Mr. Burke, the treasurer of the ordnance was placed upon the same footing with the paymaster of the army, and treasurer of the navy. For the small sums payable on the *chest account*, proper issues from the Bank were to be made on regular requisition, and to be applied to no other purposes whatever. The omission of such a clause in the navy regulation act, gave rise to the flagrant abuses for which lord Melville was now under impeachment. The same just and obvious principle was by other acts extended to the stamp-office, and to various other public boards.

Reform
bills.

But of all the transactions of this memorable session, none did so much honour to the present ministers, as the decisive steps taken by them for the abolition of the slave trade; for which both lord Grenville and Mr. Fox had ever ranked among the most zealous advocates, and which had now been eighteen years under parliamentary discussion. A bill was first brought in by the attorney-general, prohibiting the exportation of slaves from the British colonies, after January 1, 1807. By a second

Resolution
of House of
Commons
for abolishing the
Slave
Trade.

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bill, no vessel could be employed in this trade, which had not been actually engaged therein before the 1st August, or contracted for before the 10th June 1806. Then followed a resolution, moved by Mr. Fox, in the following words, "That this house, conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner and at such period as may seem advisable." This resolution proved a mortal blow to that infamous traffic: being carried by a triumphant majority of 114 to 15 voices!

Accession
of the
House of
Lords.

The resolution being transmitted to the lords, a conference was demanded, which having been held, the peers on the motion of the ministers agreed to the same; after which a joint address was presented to the King, beseeching his Majesty to take such measures as might appear most effectual for obtaining by negotiation the concurrence and concert of foreign powers, in the abolition of the slave-trade, and the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose.

Enquiry
into the af-
fairs of
India.

The affairs of India occupied no small share of the attention of the commons during this session; at an early period of which, Mr. Paul,

a member of the house recently returned from India, moved for papers preparatory to an enquiry into the state of the company. Mr. Francis, in support of the motion, observed, “that the company had been the victims of the present system of war and conquest. The existing debt was estimated at 30,000,000. What was the use of territorial acquisitions to a commercial body? It had only led to habits of extravagance and oppression, ruinous to their interests: and now the only part of the company’s trade that yielded a profit was that to China, a country where they did not possess a foot of land.” Mr. secretary Fox admitted that enquiry was highly requisite, and the papers moved for were accordingly ordered.

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On a farther motion by Mr. Johnston, March 10, that gentleman declared the necessity of attending to the mode in which India had been for some years past governed; and of deciding between the systems of the lords Wellesley and Cornwallis; and he passed a severe censure upon the former.

Marquis
Wellesley’s
conduct in-
vestigated.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Paul moved for papers relative to Oude, the Carnatic, the Mahratta, and other states of India; “for,” said he, “there is not a part of that immense peninsula which has not felt the effects of the system pursued by the noble marquis, who omitted no

Mr. Paul.

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opportunity of seizing on the territory of the defenceless. For what purpose had Mr. Hastings been impeached, but to hold out to the natives of India, that Britain would never countenance such proceeding? And he trusted that it would not at present, any more than formerly, obtain the sanction of that house."

Mr. Francis.

Mr. Francis allowed that a change of system had in great measure been effected when lord Cornwallis was re-appointed to the government of India. He avowed, nevertheless, his opinion, that "the papers contained sufficient grounds of impeachment against marquis Wellesley; but neither did he feel *himself* equal to the task, nor had he any hope of efficient support in such an undertaking."

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox observed, "that the best mode of rectifying a bad system, was not in general by the impeachment of an individual: though undoubtedly there might be acts of oppression so enormous, as to call for punishment:—that impeachment was not the most eligible mode of proceeding against a governor-general of India, except under very particular circumstances, was but too apparent from a late example."

Lord
Archibald
Hamilton

On the 21st April, lord Archibald Hamilton moved for the production of the famous *intended* dispatch of the court of directors, of the 3d April 1805; with the letter of the board

of control in answer, and the reply of the directors to that letter. "His object," the noble mover said, "was to turn the attention of the house to the unhappy situation of the directors, under the act of 1784. It was proper to see the contrast between the real sentiments of the directors and those contained in the papers to which they were obliged to affix their signatures."

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Mr. secretary Fox objected to the demand of this particular document, "as containing only matters of opinion, not of fact as producible in evidence, and tending therefore to prejudicate the case of an individual against whom very serious charges had been brought."

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Johnston saw no reason why the house should debar itself from the knowledge of the opinion of the court of directors on the affairs of India. If the noble lord's conduct was pure and unsullied, he could have nothing to fear from the production. After long debate the previous question was put and carried; but in no other instance was there any refusal of the numerous Indian papers moved for at different times, and by different persons.

Mr. Johnston.

On the 22d April, Mr. Paul rose to state the heads of the charges which he meant to bring forward. Finding the India directors averse, he felt it his duty, from his knowledge of cir-

Mr. Paul.

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cumstances, to lay the whole before the house; founding himself on the precedent of Mr. Hastings. He then recapitulated the principal transactions of the Wellesley government from May 1798, to August 1805. At the first of these periods, the debt of the company amounted to less than twelve and at the last to above thirty-one millions, arising from a succession of wars, and the unexampled prodigality of the marquis, who affected a stile of splendor unparalleled even among eastern princes; and had nominated his brother Henry Wellesley to the government of Oude, with appointments equal to those allowed by the company to the governor-general of India.

Charge
against
Marquis
Wellesley
respecting
Oude.

On the 28th May, Mr. Paul brought forward his first charge, namely, that respecting Oude, in regular form. Lord Temple professed his opinion that as the charges in general, and this in particular, ascribed to lord Wellesley not only every species of public delinquency, but of private depravity, it was necessary that an early investigation should take place; and he proposed the 12th of June for the commencement of it. This was carried, and a variety of witnesses were examined in very thin and almost deserted houses during the remainder of the session; for the majority of the members had been so much perplexed and dis-

gusted at the long protracted proceedings against Mr. Hastings, that scarcely could they now be prevailed upon to give attention to any statements relative to India, while the comparatively trivial delinquencies charged upon lord Melville, excited the most eager and anxious expectation.

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On the 10th of July, the annual account of the company's finances was submitted to the house in a candid and able manner by lord Morpeth, who now presided at the India board; lord Minto being appointed governor-general in the room of sir George Barlow. Lord Morpeth did not think it within his province to ascribe praise or blame to the late administration of affairs in India; nor did he affect to conceal or palliate the pecuniary embarrassments of the company. Their resources, however, he said, were great; and by perseverance in a system of economy, moderation, and equity, he trusted that their difficulties might eventually be surmounted.

Upon the motion of Mr. Whitbread, chief manager of the impeachment, that the house of commons do attend the trial of lord Melville; Mr. Robert Dundas, son of that nobleman, remarked, "that this would involve the necessity of fitting up Westminster-hall for the purpose; and would cause much delay, and

Trial of
Lord Mel-
ville.

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an expense to which the fortune of the individual accused was not equal." Mr. Bankes observed, "that in the case of Mr. Hastings, the delay was disgraceful, the expense intolerable, and he believed that the public now held such spectacles in abhorrence. If the twenty-one days' trial of lord Macclesfield, at the bar of the house of lords, were compared with the years consumed in that of Mr. Hastings, it would be easy to see which deserved the preference."

Mr. Fox declared that the trial ought to be conducted with every degree of solemnity and publicity; and that the responsibility attached to the highest situations might be made manifest to all. The motion then passed without a division.

Articles of
Impeach-
ment.

The trial commenced in Westminster-hall, April 29, and the accusation, though in itself far from complex, was expanded into ten distinct articles, in substance as follows; I. That Henry viscount Melville, while treasurer of the navy, *previous to the 10th January, 1786*, did receive from the money impressed to him the sum of 10,000*l.*; and did convert the same to his own use, *or some other illegal purpose*, and did declare *before the house of commons*, that he never would reveal the application of the said sum; II. That the said viscount Mel-

ville, subsequent to the act of regulation, did connive at and permit Alexander Trotter illegally to draw from the Bank of England, for other purposes than immediate application to navy services, large sums of money in his account of treasurer of the navy, and to place the same in the hands of his private banker, subject to the sole disposition and control of the said Trotter; III. That the said viscount Melville having opened on the 10th January 1786, a fresh account with the Bank, stiled "the act of parliament *new account*," did continue to allow the said Trotter to draw illegally from the Bank large sums as aforesaid; IV. That after the 10th of January 1786, viscount Melville did *fraudulently* and illegally, for the purpose of advantage, or interest to himself, take and receive from the public money, the sum of 10,000*l.*, &c.; V. That different sums of money belonging to the public, and blended with the private accounts of the said Trotter, had been illegally advanced by him to the said viscount Melville; VI. That a specific sum of 22,000*l.* from the mixed fund as aforesaid, had been thus advanced without interest to viscount Melville, by the said Trotter, the books of account, vouchers, and writings relative to the same, having been since destroyed; VII. That a farther sum of

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22,000*l.* was thus advanced by the said Trotter, for which interest was to be paid; VIII. That the said Trotter did advance from time to time various large sums to the said viscount Melville from the said mixed account; IX. That the said Trotter did gratuitously transact the private business of the said viscount Melville, in consideration of such connivance and permission, &c. X. That the said viscount Melville, previous to the 1st day of January 1786, did take and receive divers large sums of money, and apply the same to his own use.

Of these ten charges, the essence might be comprised under two general heads; namely, 1. Lord Melville's connivance at Trotter's misappropriations; and 2dly, his actual participation in the advantages arising from them. The charge which seemed to imply the actual embezzlement of the public money, was unsupported by even the shadow of evidence; and the noble lord's voluntary acknowledgment *at the bar of the house of commons*, of a sum advanced for another branch of service, and which had been punctually repaid, not only constituted an offence comparatively trivial, but it seemed wholly incompatible with the dignity and equity of the house to take such an advantage of its own indulgence. As to lord

Melville's connivance at the abuses by which Trotter had acquired an immense fortune, the dilemma was insuperable; for his knowledge or ignorance of those abuses appeared almost equally culpable. In either case malversation was sufficiently proved; but ignorance was in truth impossible: and though the destruction of the account books made it very difficult to adduce legal or technical proof of lord Melville's occasional participation of the advantages derivable from them, there existed the strongest presumptions of the fact. Nevertheless lord Melville's character was far removed from the suspicion of direct fraud: the balances due to government had been long ago discharged, and it seemed evident that accommodation rather than gain was his predominant motive in the general course of his complicated pecuniary concerns with Trotter.

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It is remarkable that the very exceptionable bill for indemnifying the witnesses, so far from adding facility to the conviction, proved a great bar to it; for Trotter being personally secure, took the whole culpability, so far as was possible, upon himself. The number of lords who voted upon this trial, which lasted forty-five days, was 135. The principal division, as might be expected, was upon the second charge, on which the numbers were 56

Acquittal
of Lord
Melville.

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to 79. On the first charge sixteen peers only voted him guilty; and on the fourth charge not ONE. The chief evidence of culpable participation bore upon the sixth and seventh articles; on which the numbers were 48 to 87 and 50 to 85. On these heads it appeared that large sums from the mixed balances in the hands of Trotter, were vested by him for the benefit of lord Melville in East India and government stock. Upon the whole, the public were surprized, not to say disappointed, after such violence of invective, to find the guilt of the noble lord no greater; and he would perhaps have become the object of national compassion, had it been possible to forget his merciless prosecution of the Scottish reformers in 1794.

Parliament
prerogued
July 23,
1806.

This long and interesting session of parliament was terminated by commission July 23, 1806.

Naval Suc-
cesses.

The naval operations of the present year were attended with uniform success. A French squadron of five sail of the line was encountered in the month of February off the coast of St. Domingo, by a superior force under Admiral Duckworth. After a furious action, three of them struck their flags, and the other two were driven on shore, and burnt. In the East the French admiral

Linois was captured on board the Marengo of eighty guns, with the Belle Poule of forty guns, on his passage back to France, enriched with various plunder. A great convoy from Rochefort was intercepted by sir Samuel Hood, and four out of five large frigates taken. A remarkably gallant exploit was achieved by lord Cochrane, who commanded the Pallas, in cutting out three Spanish vessels under a heavy fire from the protecting batteries of Avillos.

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In the autumn of the year 1805, a considerable naval armament had been fitted out with a force of about 5000 landsmen on board, under sir Home Popham and sir David Baird, destined against the Cape, where the troops were landed early in January 1806, and the Dutch governor Janseens in a few days surrendered that important colony, on the sole condition of retiring with the garrison to Holland.

Capture of
the Cape

The enterprizing officers who effected this conquest, were in the ardour of success then bold enough to hazard an unauthorized attempt on the Spanish settlements upon the great river La Plata; sir David Baird allowing a body of troops under general Beresford to accompany sir Home Popham on this adventure; and in the beginning of June the land force, amounting to about 1600 men,

And of
Buenos
Ayres.

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was disembarked in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres. Thus surprized, that great city capitulated after slight resistance; and, though private property was spared, the shipping, the merchandize, and the treasure belonging to the king of Spain, afforded an immense booty.

Circular of
Sir Home
Popham.

In the elation of the moment, sir Home Popham transmitted a circular letter to the chief commercial towns in Britain, "that a whole continent was laid open to the British trade." This unparalleled presumption gave rise to the utmost extravagance of speculation. But though so small a force had sufficed to acquire, it was wholly inadequate to retain this unwieldy conquest; and in a short time, Buenos Ayres was recovered by the Spaniards, under the conduct of colonel Linieres, a French officer in the South American service; and the English troops, with general Beresford, their commander, were made prisoners of war. Sir Home Popham nevertheless continued to blockade the entrance of the river; and on the arrival of reinforcements from the Cape, he made an unsuccessful attempt on Monte Video. Such was the situation of affairs on the La Plata at the close of 1806.

Buenos
Ayres re-
taken.

Bourbon
Dynasty in
Naples de-
posed.

The French emperor was not slow to execute his threats against the Neapolitan branch of

the house of Bourbon : and general Massena, accompanied by Joseph Bonaparte, about the middle of February 1806, entered the capital, having met with scarcely the show of resistance, excepting what arose from the pertinacious defence of the strong fortress of Gaeta ; the king and queen flying once more for refuge to Palermo ; and on the 30th of March, Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed king. But the duke of Calabria, son and heir of Ferdinand, having retired to that remote province, excited the peasantry to arms ; and sir Sidney Smith, who commanded the British naval force in that quarter, seconded the efforts of the prince with his characteristic ardour ; furnishing the requisite supplies of money and ammunition, seizing the isle of Capri, and destroying the stores prepared for the invasion of Sicily.

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Sir John Stuart, who had succeeded sir James Craig in the land service, eager to co-operate, had disembarked a body of 5000 troops in the bay of Euphemia ; whence he issued a proclamation vainly inviting the Neapolitans to his standard. Here he received intelligence that general Reignier was encamped near Maida, ten miles distant, in daily expectation of reinforcements. Advancing therefore the next morning, July the 4th, to the attack, he found the enemy 7000 in number, encamped on a

Victory of
Maida.

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rising ground thickly wooded, and a river in front. The French general, who had written a book to shew how easily the English might have been conquered in Egypt, confident in his superiority, descended into the plain, and a close combat ensued : but when the bayonets began to cross, the French suddenly gave way, abandoned the field, and were pursued with terrible slaughter. The loss of the English was small in the comparison ; but Gaeta having surrendered, and a great force being collected on the part of the enemy, sir John Stuart was compelled, without farther effort, to retire to Sicily ; the Calabrese insurrection was suppressed, and Joseph Bonaparte remained sovereign of Naples.

Assign-
ment of
Hanover to
Prussia.

On the 27th of January (1806), a proclamation was issued by the king of Prussia, announcing his occupation, civil and military, of the electoral territories of his Britannic Majesty, until the restoration of peace ; as the only means of preserving the tranquillity of the north of Germany. Against this measure, Mr. Fox protested in a letter to the Prussian minister, but with so little effect, that on the 1st of April a second proclamation appeared, in which the king of Prussia openly avowed “ that by a convention with the French emperor, Hanover was assigned to him in sove-

reignty in lieu of the countries of Anspach, Cleves, and Neufchatel, ceded to France; and that the ports of the Baltic, and rivers running into the north sea, were to be shut against the English."

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A royal message was consequently transmitted to both houses, and addresses presented, in which all parties concurred. Measures were immediately taken for blockading the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave; and an order issued for the seizure of all vessels navigating under Prussian colours.

Blockade
of the Ger-
man Ports.

By the treaty of Presburg, the Venetian territory east of the Adriatic, annexed to Austria by the treaties of Campo-Formio and Luneville, and which included the mouths of the Cattaro, forming a noble and capacious harbour, was ceded to France. The time for delivering possession of the Cattaro, namely, two months, had expired, and it still remained in the hands of the Austrians, when a Russian armament from Corfu appeared before it; and the Austrian commander on the first summons withdrawing his garrison, the Russians, entering March the 4th, occupied it in force. The French arriving soon afterwards, in their rage of disappointment, committed an atrocious act of violence in the seizure of the neighbouring island of Ragusa, that ancient and sequestered

Seizure of
the Cattaro
by Russia.

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republic, which probably contained within its narrow limits as much content and happiness as any spot of the same dimensions upon the face of the globe. The invaders were besieged in this place by the Russians and Greeks, but without success; and hostilities were afterwards transferred to Dalmatia, where general Marmont was said to be victorious in a general engagement, but the Russians still kept possession of the mouths of the Cattaro.

Confederacy of the Rhine.

The French court felt, or pretended to feel, extreme resentment at this abandonment of the Cattaro by the Austrians, and demanded a free passage through the imperial territory to Dalmatia. This was refused by the emperor Francis, on the ground that Russia might require the same, and Austria thus become the seat of war. Napoleon, therefore, on his part, would neither restore the fortress of Branau nor the Austrian prisoners yet in his hands. But this was only the prelude to his other apparently *preconcerted* plans and projects. On the 15th of July (1806) a treaty was concluded by France with the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the elector of Baden, the archbishop of Ratisbon, the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the duke of Berg, and other German princes. This was stiled “the confederation of the Rhine.” By the terms of it those princes re-

announced their connection with the Germanic empire; a diet being appointed to meet at Frankfort, to manage their common concerns; and of this confederacy the emperor of the French was declared protector. Other princes and states might be admitted into the confederation. On the 1st of August the confederates announced to the diet of Ratisbon their separation from the empire, and a rescript from the emperor of the French declared, "that he no longer recognized the existence of the Germanic constitution."

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In a proclamation almost immediately issued (August 6), the emperor Francis II. protested "that since the treaty of Presburg, all his attention and care had been employed to fulfil, with scrupulous fidelity, all the engagements then contracted as chief of the Germanic empire; but the events which have subsequently taken place have shewn the impossibility of continuing the obligations contracted by the capitulation of election. Being thus convinced, we owe it to our principles and our duty, to renounce a crown which was only valuable in our eyes while we were able to enjoy the confidence of the electors, princes, and other states of the empire; and considering the charge of chief of the empire as dissolved by the confederacy of the Rhine, we do

Dissolu-
tion of the
Germanic
Empire.

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Negotia-
tion for
Peace.

resign the imperial crown and government, and absolve at the same time the electors, princes, and states, from the duties by which they were united to us, as the legal chief of the empire." Thus the lofty title and visionary claims derived from Charlemagne were finally extinguished, and the last shadow of the Roman empire in the west arrived at its destined termination.

Soon after the appointment of the new administration in England, a French emigrant, calling himself Gevriilliere, obtaining access to Mr. Fox, disclosed to him a plan formed for the assassination of the French emperor. This must have proceeded from the most barbarous ignorance of the character of that statesman, who, instantly ordering the wretch into custody, transmitted the intelligence to M. Talleyrand, saying, that he would be detained so long as to allow full time for precaution, and then sent to a remote part of the continent. In reply, M. Talleyrand, in high terms, acknowledged the characteristic generosity of Mr. Fox; at the same time inclosing an extract from the speech of the emperor to the legislative body, (March 2,) three days prior to the date of his letter, in the following terms: "I desire peace with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment. I shall

always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the treaty of Amiens." This being manifestly designed as an opening to negotiation, Mr. Fox, after a short interval, returned an answer, expressive of "the cordial disposition of the English government to treat on the general basis of a peace honourable to both countries, and to their allies;" adding, "that the existing ties between England and Russia were such that England could not treat, much less conclude, but in concert with the emperor Alexander." M. Talleyrand replied, "that the emperor Napoleon adopted the general principle laid down by Mr. Fox; but thought there was no necessity for the intervention of a foreign and distant power."

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It happened that among the English detained in France was a nobleman, the earl of Yarmouth, in whose discretion and ability Mr. Fox could confide with entire satisfaction. Being invested with the requisite powers to treat with the French government, this nobleman repaired to Paris in order to open the negotiation, but the difficulty respecting Russia unhappily retarded its progress, though a point of form rather than substance; as the concert, whether acknowledged by France or not, between the courts of London and Petersburg, was not the less real.

Appoint-
ment of
Lord
Yarmouth.

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The chief, or most obvious subjects of difference, exclusive of the claims of Russia, were Hanover and Sicily. No exchange or indemnity for the first could be hearkened to: and in his dispatch of June 13th, lord Yarmouth informed the English minister of the declaration which M. Talleyrand had at length made, “that, considering the extreme stress which appeared to be laid upon this point, Hanover should make no difficulty.” “Authorized,” says lord Yarmouth, “by the concession of that in which the honour of the King, and that of the nation, appeared most interested, I enquired whether the possession of Sicily would be demanded? To this M. Talleyrand replied, ‘You have it, we do not ask it. Had we the possession, difficulties would be much augmented.’ The French minister also conceded, that a British minister authorized by the emperor Alexander should stipulate for both;”—adding, “The asperity which marked the commencement of the war is no more; and the wish of France was to live in harmony with so great a power as Britain.”

Nevertheless, after the lapse of a few days, lord Yarmouth having in the interval visited London, the language of M. Talleyrand seemed to be much altered. He mentioned the

readiness of Russia to treat separately, and that, from the reports received by the emperor from Naples, that kingdom could not be held without Sicily." Lord Yarmouth calmly replied, "that this was a matter which would not admit of question." On the other hand, M. Talleyrand fairly apprized the English minister, "that the determination of the French Emperor was absolute neither to restore Naples or to alienate any part of the Italian states in favour of the king of Sardinia."

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On the 26th of June, Mr. Fox, though at this time rapidly declining in health, addressed an excellent dispatch to lord Yarmouth, expressing "his astonishment at the tergiversation of M. Talleyrand. The recognition of the French emperor and the other new potentates, he regarded as a full compensation for the restoration of Hanover." He transmitted to lord Yarmouth the full powers upon which the French minister had laid so great a stress; but with orders fairly to state to M. Talleyrand, that he had no authority to make use of them until that minister returned to his former ground respecting Sicily. He remarked "that if d'Oubril," the Russian ambassador lately arrived at Paris, "had offered to treat separately, it was only in the way that lord Yarmouth himself treated; that is, *in form*, but substan-

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tially in concert. Naples and Istria, Mr. Fox admitted, were not to be conclusive against agreeing to provisional articles, subject to the approval of Russia, or," as he explains it, "that those articles should not have effect till a peace should be concluded between France and Russia."

On the 1st of July lord Yarmouth acknowledged his receipt of the full powers, and mentioned his communication of the same to M. Talleyrand, who merely said, "that change of circumstances during a negotiation were always valid reasons for a change of terms; that *had any confidential overture been made three months ago*, France would have been ready to settle the question of Naples in the manner most satisfactory to Great Britain: the same a month later with regard to Holland." At the close of the conference lord Yarmouth repeated, "that it was *impossible* to proceed in the negotiation till *every mode* of seeking to obtain possession of Sicily was entirely relinquished." On subsequently demanding his passports, M. Talleyrand took the opportunity of offering the Hanse Towns as an establishment for the king of Naples. But on the 5th of July, being the very next day after the receipt of lord Yarmouth's letter, Mr. Fox peremptorily replied, "that the abandonment of

Sicily was a point on which it was *impossible* for his Majesty to concede. The demand of France was inconsistent with the whole principle on which the negotiation rests; and the proposal of M. Talleyrand is, besides, of itself quite inadmissible. To the original basis of negotiation, therefore, lord Yarmouth was directed to advert; and if this was not accepted, to state in perfectly civil and decided terms, that he was not at liberty to treat on any other ground, and therefore to desire his passports."

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The earl of Yarmouth having exactly executed his commission, M. Talleyrand made a farther proposition from the emperor, offering Dalmatia, Albania, and Ragusa, as an indemnity for Sicily. This, he was assured, would not be accepted; but the English negotiator consented to await the return of the messenger; M. Talleyrand saying, "that if peace was made, Germany should remain in its present state." By this time the indisposition of Mr. Fox had so alarmingly increased as to render him incapable of attending to business; and the succeeding dispatches, transmitted under the sanction of his name, were fairly acknowledged at a subsequent period not to have proceeded from his pen, which was indeed but too evident. The elaborate

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answer of July 18th to lord Yarmouth's last dispatch, most unhappily and unseasonably wavered upon the grand point of Sicily. "An exchange," says the author of this dispatch, which was generally ascribed to lord Grenville, "is now offered for Sicily, and it is in that view, and not in that of an absolute and uncompensated cession, that the question is now to be considered; and to this the full and free consent of its sovereign is necessary, which is not likely to be obtained by the offer of Dalmatia. The writer then suggests the addition of Istria and of a large proportion of the Venetian states, including, if possible, the city of Venice; and lord Yarmouth is directed to continue the conferences with M. Talleyrand, to ascertain whether any more practicable shape can be given to the exchange."

This departure from a point which Mr. Fox had uniformly insisted on, and respecting which he had declared it "*impossible* for the King to concede," naturally induced the supposition, that the English cabinet would adhere firmly to nothing; and from this moment all was fluctuation and indecision. Nor did the slightest probability exist, that France would yield in exchange what would be likely to obtain "the full and free consent of the king of Sicily."

On the 20th of July, a separate peace was signed between France and Russia; M. d'Oubril frankly acknowledging "that seeing the immediate danger of Austria, he thought it his duty to save her even by this step." The difficulty respecting the joint negotiation being thus at an end, and Sicily no longer a *sine qua non*, lord Yarmouth complied with the pressing demand of M. Talleyrand to produce his full powers. The preliminary agreement with Russia imported the immediate evacuation of Germany, security for Sweden and Turkey; and, by a secret article, the acceptance of the Balearic islands as an indemnity for Sicily. To Great Britain, France now offered as the terms of peace, Hanover, Malta, and the Cape; demanding in return the restoration of Pondicherri, St. Lucie, Tobago, Surinam, Goree, Demarara, and the recognition of the new potentates. Had Tobago been added to Malta and the Cape, and this was doubtless easily obtainable, the terms might be regarded as very honourable to Britain.

The step taken by lord Yarmouth in producing his full powers, though absolutely essential *if peace were really the object in view*, gave unexpected offence to the English ministers;

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Separate
Treaty
between
France and
Russia.

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“as calculated to create an impression very unfavourable to the farther progress of the negotiation!” The reply of the ambassador, dated August 1st, contained a spirited vindication of his own conduct, and a masterly view of the general state of Europe at this crisis. It was, however, now thought proper to appoint the earl of Lauderdale joint negotiator with the earl of Yarmouth. The successive conferences of the two lords with general Clarke and M. Champagny, the French plenipotentiaries, seemed little calculated to expedite the business; the English cabinet awaiting with much anxiety the ultimate resolves of the court of St. Petersburg; and by the recall of lord Yarmouth, the negotiation rested wholly with lord Lauderdale.

England
insists on
the *Uti*
Possidetis.

Much superfluous discussion had from the first arrival of that nobleman taken place respecting the basis on which the treaty was to proceed; the English ambassador being strictly limited to the *uti possidetis*; and he refused to deliver in any *projet* till that basis had been formally acknowledged. M. Champagny, on the other hand, urged that by a particular explanation they might more speedily arrive at the same conclusion; making at the same time, as lord Lauderdale candidly acknowledges, “concessions which much surprised

him." The ambassador, nevertheless, agreeably to his instructions, still stood upon the *uti possidetis*, on which M. Champagny asked with warmth, "whether he thought himself authorized, after the concessions just made, to refuse them time to consider how much farther they might go?" Upon this lord Lauderdale agreed, at *his own risque*, to a renewal of the conference.

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This took place on the 4th of September, when M. Talleyrand explicitly declared "that the emperor of Russia had refused to ratify the treaty signed by M. d'Oubril; and that this refusal would certainly induce the French emperor to go farther in concession than he would otherwise have done." In the ensuing dispatch from England, written by Mr. Windham (September 10), the ambassador was still ordered to adhere to the *basis*; and the emperor of Russia having refused his ratification, *in no case* to separate his Majesty's interests from those of his ally."

Ratification of Russia refused.

Such was the state of things in Europe when Mr. Fox, after a lingering illness of several months, expired on the 13th of September (1806.) But his *political decease*, as it was stiled in France, had taken place many weeks before, at a most critical period of the negotiation.

Death of Mr. Fox.

The public, and even the personal character

His character.

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of Mr. Fox must be estimated by his speeches and his actions. All historical delineation is comparatively feeble. The errors of his early youth he shook off, "as dewdrops from a lion's mane." While yet in the morning of life, his genius, bursting through the surrounding clouds, shone with unrivalled radiance amidst a long succession of political conflicts in times the most momentous. The extent of his sagacity in his vast survey of human affairs, could be equalled only by what has been happily stiled "the grandeur of his benevolence." His mind was too lofty to adopt sinister means of effecting even the most important purposes. Too great for pride, too wise for artifice, he was not only free from dissimulation, but from the remotest suspicion of it. His eloquence was as various as the occasions which called it forth; always clear and forcible, at times dignified, pathetic, sublime. His attacks were invariably made on the strong holds of his adversaries, and his wit, which was occasionally brilliant, constantly touched on his subject, and never degenerated into personality. Peculiarly gifted to unravel the most complicated web of sophistry, he abstained, as a sacred duty, from ascribing to others sentiments which they themselves disclaimed.

The literary endowments of Mr. Fox might have entitled him to great distinction, had not his destination led to nobler things. Yet his political pursuits damped not the ardour of his studies in the hours of leisure; for the object which occupied his time, never failed to engage his attention. His speeches in parliament contain an inestimable treasure of wisdom and beneficence. During more than thirty years, scarcely did he rise in the senate but to assert in some mode or form, the cause of liberty and humanity. All Europe mourned his loss: for all had cherished the hope of participating in the benefits and blessings of his administration.

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On the demise of this great statesman, Mr. Grey now, by the advancement of his father sir Charles Grey to the title of earl Grey, stiled viscount Howick, was nominated secretary for the foreign department; Mr. Thomas Grenville succeeded to the admiralty; and Mr. Tierney became president of the India board, lord Morpeth being employed in a foreign mission. Viscount Sidmouth was appointed president of the council, lord Fitzwilliam retiring from ill health; and lord Holland was promoted to the vacant office of lord privy seal.

Changes in
Adminis-
tration.

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1806.
Honours
conferred
by the
Emperor
Napoleon.

The treaty of Presburg had been celebrated by the French emperor at the court of Munich, with great rejoicings; and during his residence in that city, his step-son, Eugene Beauharnois, viceroy of Italy, was married (January 13) to the daughter of the king of Bavaria. The duchy of Guastalla was conferred on Paulina, sister of the emperor, married to prince Borghese; and his uncle, cardinal Fesch, was appointed coadjutor to the archbishop of Ratisbon. Paris was a second scene of triumph; and on opening the sittings of the legislature, March 2 (1806,) the statue of the emperor which adorned the hall, was crowned with laurel. In his speech Napoleon boasted "that his soldiers had ceased to conquer only when they ceased to fight." And in the *exposé* it was too truly affirmed, "that each succeeding coalition which England had formed, had only increased the power and territory of the French nation; and the emperor," it was said, "wished now to merit the blessings of the present and future generations by a life devoted to their happiness." Among other honours and promotions of this period, general Murat, who had married a sister of Napoleon, was declared grand duke of Berg; and marshal Berthier, prince of Neufchatel: but what was of much more importance, in consequence of the *request* of the constituted au-

Holland
erected into
a Kingdom.

thorities of the Batavian republic, Holland was erected into a kingdom in favour of prince Louis, brother of the emperor.

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Prussia had taken extreme offence at the offer of restoring Hanover, and on this and other points serious discussions had arisen with France; afresh exciting the hopes of the English government. On the 25th Sept. a conference took place between lord Lauderdale and M. Champagny, in which the latter proposed the following specific terms of peace. I. The restoration of Hanover; II. The cession of Malta; III. Of the Cape; IV. Of Pondicherri, &c. in the east; V. Also of Tobago, originally an English settlement, and the point of honour in the two former treaties. In return, Sicily was required in exchange for the Balearic islands. It was proposed that Prussia and the northern confederation of Germany, should be included in the treaty, and the new Continental powers recognized.

Terms
offered by
France.

To the demand of Sicily, lord Lauderdale gave a positive denial; at the same time insisting that Russia should be satisfied. This referred to the claim now set up by that aspiring and rapacious power, of Dalmatia. To this M. Champagny would not listen, but offered Corfu in sovereignty; which was also rejected. Upon these points the negotiation finally broke

Rejected
by Great
Britain.

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Official
Papers,
Paris, Sep-
tember 26.

off, though M. Champagny declared to lord Lauderdale, "that a treaty speedily signed and ratified would stop the progress of military operations, and that England was now in a situation to fill the high character of pacificator of Europe." At the end of the month the French emperor, attended by M. Talleyrand, set out for Germany. As a last effort, a letter was addressed by the French minister to lord Lauderdale from Mentz, October 1st, in which he expressed "the readiness of the emperor to renew the negotiation with England, in the midst of any events, on the basis laid down in concert with the illustrious minister whom England had just lost; and who having nothing to add to his glory except the reconciliation between the two nations, had conceived the hope of accomplishing it, but was snatched from the world in the midst of his task."

Aspiring
views of
Russia.

The war, therefore, was now to be indefinitely prolonged for the purpose of securing Sicily to the house of Bourbon, and of obtaining for Russia the province of Dalmatia, to which she had not even the shadow of a rightful, or even of a plausible claim.

Rupture
between
France and
Prussia.

During the late events Prussia had been flattered with the idea of holding the balance between the great belligerent powers: and the offended pride of the Prussian monarch,

consequent to the violation of the territory of Anspach, had so far changed his policy, that he was deterred only by the quick succession of disasters from joining the coalition. This the French emperor could not easily forgive : and though Prussia had been encouraged to form a confederation in the north of Germany, similar to that of the Rhine, it was found to be a mere delusion, the Hanse towns, and other northern estates of the empire, being included in the continually increasing circle of French *protection*. Also by the late treaty of D'Oubril, France had guaranteed the possessions of Sweden in Germany ; whereas the Prussian monarch had previously been led to expect the annexation of Swedish Pomerania and Wismar to his dominions. But Hanover had been the principal lure by which Frederick William III. had been tempted to desert the cause of sovereigns, and to lend himself to the projects of Gallic ambition : and though the restoration of that electorate to its lawful sovereign, had been promised under the strictest seal of secrecy, the court of Berlin soon obtained authentic information of this infraction of the subsisting engagements of France with Prussia.

The resentment of the Prussian monarch, and of all those who adopted the passions of

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tion of the
Court of
Berlin.

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the day, was now extreme. The tide of opinion set strongly in favour of war, and nothing was talked of at Berlin but the great Frederick and the victory of Rosbach. The alienation of Prussia did not escape the vigilance of the courts either of London or Paris. From the former lord Morpeth was dispatched with great powers to Berlin, and the naval blockade was immediately raised. On the other hand, M. Talleyrand addressed (September 11) a note to the Prussian ambassador Knobelsdorf, complaining of the warlike preparations of Prussia, which was evasively answered. But on the 1st of October the ambassador presented in due form the demands of his sovereign: I. That the French armies without delay repass the Rhine; II. The establishment of the northern Germanic confederation; III. The separation of certain places from the confederation of the Rhine. To these requisitions the emperor Napoleon not deigning to reply, advanced at the head of his troops with rapid steps, and approached the frontier of Upper Saxony, before it was possible that Prussia could receive any aid from her ally, the emperor Alexander.

Declara-
tion of
Prussia
against
France.

On the 9th of October (1806) appeared the declaration of Frederick William; a singular document, filled with the most humiliating

confessions of the lengths to which Prussia had gone in subservience to France ; and with expressions of resentment on being made its dupe and its victim. It allows, however, " that the acquisition of Hanover, could it have been made under less unhappy circumstances, would have been of invaluable advantage to Prussia. The king, therefore, conceived that he reconciled his wishes with his principles, when he accepted of the proposed exchange *only* under the condition of delaying the fulfilment of the same, till a general peace, with the consent of his Britannic majesty." Even under the present circumstances, no positive pledge could be obtained from the court of Berlin for the restoration of Hanover.

At this moment of rashness and passion, Prussia seemed almost to exult in the idea of entering alone the lists against France. Early in October the duke of Brunswick, who commanded in chief, fixed his head-quarters at Weimar, the army extending along the banks of the Saale. The Saxons served as auxiliaries under prince Hohenloe on the left, and the whole collected force exceeded 100,000 men. The French advanced from Bamberg in three divisions, and after divers partial encounters, in one of which prince Louis, brother to the king of Prussia, lost his life, the two

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Operations.

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armies, nearly of equal strength, but very unequally commanded, seemed to assume an attitude of mutual defiance. The French emperor having by superior manœuvres succeeded in turning the left of the Prussians, and in cutting off the communication with their magazines, occupied in force the heights of Jena, which had been thought impracticable for artillery; and on the eve of the 13th of October the two armies encamped within cannon-shot.

Battle of
Jena,
October 13,
1806.

Two hours after day-break the action commenced, and quickly became general, exhibiting for some time reciprocal skill and bravery; but a fierce assault from the French cavalry and cuirassiers, under general Murat, at once decided the fortune of this memorable day. All attempts to restore order were in vain; universal consternation ensued, nothing resembling even a regular retreat could be effected; and in the flight of the Prussians towards Weimar and Naumburg, multitudes were slaughtered and a still greater number made prisoners. The duke of Brunswick himself was mortally wounded, and the entire loss did not fall short of 40,000 men; while that of the French, according to their own account, was below 5000. Farther resistance seemed not

to be thought of. Erfurt, Magdeburg, Stettin, Leipsic, and Spandau, surrendered almost at the first summons ; and on the 25th of October the marshals Davoust and Augereau entered Berlin.

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The veteran marshal Mullendorf, last of the generals formed under the great Frederick, was second in command at Jena; and as reported, had strongly remonstrated against the dispositions made by the duke of Brunswick, particularly in separating the left wing, which extended to Auerstadt, to so great and dangerous a distance from the right and centre.

The French emperor made his public entry into Berlin, a few days after the marshals.

Napoleon
enters
Berlin.

At Potsdam he viewed with attention the apartments of the palace once occupied by Frederick the Great ; and afterwards visited his tomb. His sword he took as a memorial of that extraordinary man. The colours taken at Rosbach he sent back to Paris. A single corps to the west of the Oder, under general Blucher, after the most heroic exertion, had at length taken refuge in Lubeck. But the gates of that city being forced by the French, a furious combat took place in the streets and squares. Driven out of Lubeck, he gained the frontiers of Holstein ; where, finding himself

Heroism
of Blucher.

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destitute of all co-operation or resource, he surrendered with his remaining force, consisting, after all its losses, of about 10,000 men.

Alliance
between
Saxony and
France.

The policy of the emperor Napoleon leading him to detach Saxony from Prussia, he released 6000 Saxon prisoners on their parole; and sent a friendly message to the elector, who thereupon relinquished his intention of quitting Dresden; and toward the close of the year, he signed a treaty of alliance with France; by which he became a member of the confederation of the Rhine, and received from Napoleon, "the king-maker," the royal title. The Prussian provinces on the Lower Rhine, and the Hanoverian territory, were reduced by an army from Holland under Louis Bonaparte; and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had pertinaciously refused to become a member of the Rhenish confederacy, was expelled from his capital and dominions by general Mortier, who then occupied Hamburg, ordering the sequestration of all English property.

Decree of
Berlin,
Appendix,
No. V.

This was the prelude to a decree issued by Napoleon from Berlin, November 20 (1806), interdicting all commerce and correspondence between the countries under his government, and the British islands, which he declared to be *in a state of blockade*; denouncing all Eng-

lish property as lawful prize; and all vessels touching at any port in England, or any English colony, were excluded from the harbours of France, or the countries under its control. This was vindicated as a measure of retaliation for the flagrant violations of the laws of maritime neutrality by Great Britain; and extravagant as the terms of this decree might seem, its effect was severely felt.

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By this time Frederick William had retired to his Prussian capital of Koningsberg; and the French under Jerome Bonaparte, who had recently espoused a princess of Wirtemberg, grand-daughter of the late duke of Brunswick, having passed the Oder, made themselves masters of Silesia; while the marechals Davoust and Lasnes entered Prussian Poland; the Russian general Beningsen on their approach evacuating Warsaw, retreated beyond the Narew. Napoleon having joined the army in person, the French crossed that river, and after various partial encounters, a bloody battle was fought (Dec. 26) in the vicinity of Pultusk, in which the Russians sustained the loss of near 10,000 men with eighty pieces of cannon. But this victory was by no means cheaply purchased on the part of the French; and after this the adverse armies went into winter-quarters. During this short recess, the

Conquest
of Silesia.Battle of
Pultusk.

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French emperor took up his residence at Warsaw; and the king of Prussia, who had in vain solicited peace, sought refuge in Memel, the sole asylum now left to him.

War between Russia and Turkey.

On the refusal of the emperor Alexander to ratify the treaty of D'Oubril, general Sebastiani was sent to Constantinople with a commission by every possible means to induce the Sublime Porte to declare war against Russia; and he obtained an edict prohibiting to Russian ships of war the passage of the Dardanelles. But the court of St. Petersburg, not waiting the result of the negotiation, marched an army into Moldavia, and took possession of Choczim, Bender, and Jassi: in consequence of which a declaration of war issued from the Porte Dec. 29, 1806, and an English squadron took on board the Russian and British ambassadors. Between Great Britain and Turkey the strictest amity had subsisted since the victory of the Nile; nor was the slightest injury, or infraction of treaties, pretended, when with the view of compelling the Turks to an immediate accommodation, or rather submission, the British squadron, under sir John Duckworth, in the month of February (1807) received orders to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and present himself in hostile array before Con-

Passage of the Dardanelles forced by the English, Feb. 1807.

stantinople. In sailing through the strait, the squadron sustained a heavy cannonade from the opposite shores, and a small Turkish armament was destroyed by sir Sydney Smith. On the 20th of February, under the sanction of a flag of truce, Ysak Bey, one of the Turkish ministers, came on board, professing an earnest desire on the part of the sultan Selim III. of giving satisfaction. But the demand of Britain was no less than the delivery of all the ships of war belonging to the Porte. The negotiation continued till the 27th, and this interval was diligently employed by the Turks, under the direction of French engineers, in erecting batteries on both sides of that long and narrow strait; and a great force was collected both by land and sea to prevent the egress of the enemy. The English admiral, finding himself out-manœuvred even by Turkish artifice, after all his high and menacing language, thought only of retreat: and weighing anchor on the 1st of March, he succeeded in forcing his passage through the straits, though not without incurring the most imminent peril. Farther delay would have been fatal. The fire from the opposite castles of Sestos and Abydos was tremendous; and a granite shot of 800lb. weight, carried away the mainmast of one of the largest ships. None escaped without damage,

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and some hundred lives were lost in this expedition, which was generally condemned as no less impolitic than unjust; for the only effect it produced, was to confirm the influence of France at the Porte.

Capture of
Alexandria
March 20,
1807.

Another expedition, equally the subject of censure, and nearly contemporary with the former, was fitted out at Messina under general Fraser against Alexandria, which capitulated on the 20th of March, including the Turkish vessels of war in the harbour. A body of troops was then detached to take possession of Rosetta; but here they met with a resolute resistance, and were compelled, after sustaining a loss of three hundred men killed and wounded, to retreat to Aboukir. A second attempt on the same place proved still more disastrous; and in fighting their way back to Alexandria a serious loss was sustained. The enemy subsequently assembling in great force, a convention such as circumstances required was concluded by general Fraser, in pursuance of which, the British prisoners being restored, the whole armament sailed for Sicily on the 23d September, 1807. If services such as these were required by Russia, England might be considered rather as the vassal than the ally of that usurping, dangerous, and domineering power.

Large reinforcements, under general Auchmuty and admiral Stirling, landed, January 1807, near Monte Video, which was carried by a bloody assault. Sir Home Popham being recalled, was tried by a court martial for engaging unauthorized, in an expedition of such magnitude and hazard, but escaped only with a slight reprimand. A second reinforcement, under general Crauford, and a third under general Whitelock, as commander-in-chief, arrived in the course of the summer; and the city of Buenos Ayres was then invested. On the morning of the 5th July, a general attack was made in different divisions. The troops behaved with their usual intrepidity, but they were finally repulsed with the loss of no less than 2600 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. On this occasion, the conduct of general Whitelock excited universal indignation, as equally deficient in capacity and courage. On the next day, general Linieres offered to release all the English prisoners, including those captured with general Beresford, on condition of the immediate withdrawal of the English armament. This was eagerly accepted by general Whitelock, who, on his return to England, was, by sentence of a court martial, cashiered for his flagrant misconduct; and it remained an impenetrable

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Final
failure at
Buenos
Ayres.

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Curaçoa
captured.

Disputes
between
Great Bri-
tain and
America.

mystery, how such a man could be selected for such a service. In balance of these disasters, the Dutch island of Curaçoa was early in the year 1807 reduced by a small squadron under the command of captain Brisbane.

Serious disputes had recently arisen between Great Britain and the United States of America. The chief grounds of complaint on the part of the States, were the search of their ships, and the seizure of their seamen on the ground, or pretext, of their being British-born; and the capture and condemnation of their merchant vessels and cargoes, as contraband. Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney were nominated commissioners to the English court, “to settle the differences relative to the wrongs committed on the high seas.” The lords Auckland and Holland were empowered to treat with the American commissioners on their arrival, August 1806. The negotiation was conducted with mutual candour and ability. During the late war, America had been allowed to trade with the colonies of the enemy for articles of domestic consumption, which if no adequate demand existed at home might be re-exported to other markets; the act of landing and paying the duties, breaking the continuity of the voyage. This course of trade was not interrupted *till the year 1805*, when the British ad-

miralty courts adopted a totally new principle; and on the plea that the drawbacks on re-exportation were nearly equivalent to the previous duties, such goods were pronounced liable to confiscation.

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The American government retaliated by passing a non-importation act against British manufactures, to take place at a fixed and future period. On the first head, the commissioners were satisfied with an official assurance, that the right of impress should be exercised with great caution; and immediate redress be afforded on the representation of any injury. On the second head, it was stipulated, that on re-exportation there should remain after the drawback a duty of one per cent. *ad valorem* on all articles of European growth, and of two per cent. on all of colonial produce. But this fair prospect was suddenly overcast, by the delivery to the commissioners, previous to the signature of the pending treaty, of a note stating “that his Majesty might be compelled, in just retaliation of the late Berlin decree, to order his cruizers to adopt towards those powers who should acquiesce in such usurpations, the same proceedings which they should have submitted to from the enemy.” This anticipation of undue compliance on the part of America, and of vengeance on that of

Convention
signed.

Ratification
refused by
America.

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Britain, gave such offence, that the president Jefferson refused his ratification to the treaty, which was referred back for farther consideration, and *explanation*.

Order in
Council,
January 7,
1807.

Of all the neutral powers, America, as being beyond the sphere of French influence, was the least likely to yield any sort of submission to a decree which interfered so essentially with her most important interests; and it was the obvious policy of Britain to afford every possible facility to the commerce of America, as the grand medium of the future intercourse of Great Britain with the continent of Europe, in defiance of the power of France. But the “*explanation*” required, was too soon given by the promulgation of an order in council, January 7, 1807, purporting, “that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall be in the possession of France or her allies, or so far under their control as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat. All neutral vessels so trading, to be subject to capture and confiscation.” Thus between the opposite mandates of the two grand belligerents, the commerce of neutral nations was in effect annihilated, and neutral property made what was *called* lawful prize! But this mode of warfare the eternal laws of justice and humanity could never sanction.

The late rupture of the negotiation with France appearing consonant to the judgment, or at least to the feelings of the nation, a resolution was taken to dissolve the parliament, though it had scarcely sat half the accustomed term. That the king so easily acquiesced in this unusual measure, is a decisive proof of his satisfaction with the present ministers, whose war-like policy was indeed very gratifying to him. The royal proclamation was dated the 24th of October; and the writs were made returnable on the 15th of December, "We being desirous," said his Majesty, "and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people and have their advice in parliament."

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1806-7.
Dissolution
of Par-
liament.

On the 19th of December (1806) the new parliament, Mr. Abbot being unanimously re-chosen speaker, was opened by commission. The speech delivered by the lord chancellor declared, "that his Majesty's efforts for the restoration of peace had been disappointed by the ambition and injustice of the enemy; that a fresh war had been at the same moment kindled in Europe, which had been attended with the most calamitous events. But that under the most trying circumstances the conduct of the king of Sweden had been distinguished by the most honourable firmness, and that the *happiest union* continued to subsist

New Par-
liament
convened,
December
1806.

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between his Majesty and the emperor of Russia." The addresses moved in reply, afforded ample ground of animadversion, but at length passed in both houses without a division.

1807.
Abolition
of the Slave
Trade.

After a short recess, lord Grenville, January 2, 1807, brought in a bill for abolishing the slave trade. The chief debate took place on the second reading, when the measure was supported in a most able speech by the minister. In this expiring stage of the contest, the duke of Clarence adhered to "his *conviction* that there was not the *least* foundation for the charge which had been brought against the planters, for ill treatment to their slaves; and warned their lordships of the *awful* consequence of a measure which would deprive the West India islands of the only mode by which they could acquire labourers."

On the other hand, the duke of Gloucester, with true *English feeling*, declared, "that he could not find words strong enough to express his abhorrence of that abominable traffic in human blood; no question could come more closely home to our own bosoms, than that which concerned the happiness of myriads of our fellow-creatures. The resolution on their lordships' table branded the slave trade as contrary to humanity, justice, and policy; and the time was now come to act upon that resolution."

The principal advocates for the bill in the ensuing discussion were the lords King, Moirā, Holland, Selkirk, and the bishop of Durham; the chief opponents were the lords Westmoreland, Sidmouth, Eldon, and Hawkesbury. On the division, the numbers were, in favour of the bill 100, against it 36 peers. On its transmission to the commons, it was defended with the most impressive eloquence by lord Howick; who was seconded by Mr. Roscoe, member for Liverpool, the lords Mahon, Milton, Percy, &c., but above all by Mr. Wilberforce, who, unwearied in his efforts, now saw the fruit of his labours. The bill was opposed by general Gascoyne, the other member for Liverpool, Mr. Bragge Bathurst, and Mr. Hibbert. The numbers on dividing were, for the abolition 283, against it 166! A subsequent motion, founded on the immutable principles of humanity and justice, for the *gradual* emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, by earl Percy, was powerfully supported by Mr. Sheridan; but for this grand *désideratum* the time was not yet come, and it was resisted and lost, on the ground of *expediency*.

On the 5th of January, the papers relative to the late negotiation were taken into consideration. The conduct of government was

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1807.

Debate on
the Nego-
tiation.

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1807.

vindicated, with their accustomed ability, by the chiefs of administration in both houses; and in both, the addresses were voted without a division. Symptoms, nevertheless, of dissatisfaction appeared from directly opposite quarters, and on opposite grounds. In the commons, Mr. Whitbread in an able speech declared, "that war, eternal war, ought not to be waged for Sicily and Dalmatia." And he moved an amendment expressive of "the hope entertained by the house that his Majesty would make every arrangement consistent with honour for the restoration of peace." Lord Yarmouth expressed his firm belief, "that the negotiation would have been brought to a favourable conclusion, had it not been for the melancholy event of the death of Mr. Fox; and he thought the terms which had been rejected highly advantageous." Mr. Canning, on the contrary, though he censured the demand of the *uti possidetis* as totally inapplicable to the present state of things, professed himself unable to concur in the language of regret adopted by the address at the issue of the negotiation, which ought to have broken off much sooner. Such were the sentiments which at this period divided the nation.

Motion
respecting
Onde.

Upon the 26th of January lord Folkstone moved for the printing certain papers relative

to the vizier of Oude, saying, “ that the noble marquis himself must doubtless be desirous to bring the question to an issue. Whether he should go into any other charge, he could not at present tell. As to the Carnatic business, a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had engaged to bring it forward; should that gentleman relinquish the task, he would certainly undertake it.” Mr. Sheridan on this rose and declared, without acknowledging any such pledge, “ that should any other person bring forward that question, he would exert his utmost ability in the support of it.” Lord Folkstone’s motion was then put and carried.

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1807.

On the 29th of January, the chancellor of the exchequer stated his plan of finance, which was so framed as to make provision for a series of years to come, on the very probable supposition of a continuance of the war; the loan for the present year was stated at 12,000,000. Upon the resolutions moved and finally agreed to by the house, much debate arose; and very forcible objections were urged against them. But as this project was never carried into effect, it would be superfluous to enter into the particulars.

Project of
Finance.

On the 16th of February, lord Grenville introduced a bill into the house of peers for

Scottish
Judicial
Reform.

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1807.

the better regulating the courts of justice in Scotland, and for establishing the trial by jury in civil cases. This bill imported the division of the court of session, consisting of fifteen judges, into three chambers, having concurrent jurisdiction, and constituting, when united, an intermediate court of appeal, thus essentially relieving the house of lords. This measure met with the approbation of the law lords Eldon and Ellenborough. In its farther progress, nevertheless, it was decidedly opposed by several peers, particularly lord Redesdale, who professed to consider it as a breach of the union! During the discussion, the lord president of the court of session, the lord justice clerk, and four other Scottish judges, were examined *at the bar of the house*, and difficulties arising, the bill was postponed for the present.

Catholic
Army and
Navy Bill.

Upon the 20th of February, lord Howick notified his intention of preparing some additional and very necessary clauses for insertion in the mutiny bill. By the Irish mutiny act passed in 1793, catholics were allowed to hold any rank in the army under that of general on the staff in Ireland; though in Great Britain they were disqualified to serve under severe penalties; thus being deemed by law worthy of trust in one part of the united king-

dom, and unworthy in another. This anomaly it was designed to remedy by making the provisions of the Irish act general. But on the 5th of March, lord Howick, in lieu of the proposed clauses, moved to bring in a bill “for enabling his Majesty to avail himself of the services of *all* his subjects in his naval and military forces, on their taking the prescribed oath of allegiance.” For to grant this privilege to catholics, and to deny it to protestants, would have been manifestly unjust.

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It might be thought that a law so salutary and equitable would sufficiently recommend itself by the mere statement of it; yet the motion of lord Howick was enforced with all the wisdom and eloquence of an accomplished statesman.

Mr. Perceval, late attorney-general, immediately rose to resist what he stiled “one of the most dangerous measures which had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. Our antient and venerable establishment could only be preserved, by making a stand against every fresh attempt at *innovation*, which, if encouraged, would not stop short of abolishing all that the wisdom of our ancestors had thought necessary to enact in defence of our religion. The present question was simply, whether the legislature were prepared

Violent opposition to the Bill.

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1807.

to give up the protestant ascendancy in Ireland? This measure was indeed but a part of the principle of innovation which was gradually increasing; and these approaches were far more dangerous than if it were to come forward at once in all its frightful magnitude; and what might be at first denied by the wisdom of parliament would be ultimately extorted from its weakness."

Such was the nature of the alarm sounded in parliament; and the spirit of bigotry instantly awakened from its transient slumber, and answered to the call. After an animated debate, an early day was fixed for the second reading of the bill. This was, however, twice postponed; and on the 18th of March, lord Howick gave notice "that the bill was not intended, *under the present circumstances*, to be proceeded upon." These circumstances were of a nature so singular as to require a distinct elucidation.

Bill finally
withdrawn.

Causes of
its failure.

On the 4th of February, a dispatch had been received from the duke of Bedford, stating "that a disposition had been manifested by the Irish catholics to prosecute their claims by petition to parliament." Desirous to prevent an application so unseasonable, and at the same time to assure the catholics of their favourable disposition, an answer to the lord

Speeches of
Lords Gren-
ville, How-
ick, and
Sidmouth,
March 26,
& April 13.

lieutenant was prepared by ministers, stating their intention relative to the mutiny bill, a copy of which was transmitted to the King, accompanied by a cabinet minute. To this proposition the King expressed a strong dissent; and upon receiving his disapproval, the cabinet (February 10) made a respectful representation of the grounds of policy, and principle, upon which the measure in question was founded.

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The lord president Sidmouth had fairly avowed his readiness to concur in the extension of the Irish act so far as to legalize the services of the Irish catholic officers in England, *and no farther*. This he had made known to the King on being questioned by him; acknowledging that there was no alternative but to repeal the Irish act, or make it operative in England. In consequence of this opinion, corroborated by the lord chancellor, who described the measure as merely a corollary from the Irish act, the King replied to the cabinet minute, "that, adverting to what had taken place in 1793, he would not prevent his ministers from submitting to the consideration of parliament the proposed clauses in the mutiny-bill; but thought it necessary to declare, that he could not go one step farther; and trusted that this reluct-

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ant concession would secure him from being distressed by any future proposal connected with the catholic question."

Under this frail and limited sanction, nevertheless, the majority of the cabinet transmitted a dispatch to Ireland, exciting expectations far beyond the letter of the act of 1793; not only by removing the bar to higher military advancement, but extending the provisions of the act to the navy; and imparting the same privileges to English protestant dissenters.

The lord president, on being apprized by the judge-advocate of the import of the new clauses, plainly professed the necessity he should feel of opposing the measure in parliament; and in a cabinet council held March 1st, he declared his conviction "that the extent of it was not understood by the King." Lord Grenville, however, expressing an opposite opinion, it was proposed by lord Howick to transmit to his Majesty a copy of the clauses in question; which was done on the next day, accompanied with a dispatch to the lord lieutenant of the same tenor. They were returned without comment; but on Wednesday March 4th, the King, having previously conferred with the lord president, declared to lord Howick at an audience held after the

levee, his dislike and disapprobation of the measure; without however in express words “withdrawing the consent originally given.”

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1807.

The ministers, therefore, still acted under a delusion, and the obnoxious bill was ordered to be read a second time on the 12th of March.

During this interval lord Sidmouth gave notice of his resolution to resign his office, with a view to oppose the bill. But the King refused to accept his resignation; and mentioned in strong terms his surprise at the extent of the proposition made in the house of commons, after his declaration to lord Howick. On the same day lord Grenville was informed by the King, *in a mode which could not be mistaken*, “that to those parts of the bill which exceeded the limits of the act of 1793, he could not be induced to give his consent.” Lord Sidmouth, upon this, gave the obviously prudent advice to modify the bill in such a manner as to free it from objections evidently insuperable. And lord Grenville, with the concurrence of his colleagues, respectfully apprized the King of the misconception that had prevailed; and their present purpose so to modify the measure, as to confine it precisely within those limits, to which his Majesty understood himself to have consented.

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1807.

This intimation was graciously received by the King, who gave the strongest assurances of his conviction, that the intentions of the ministers towards him, were perfectly honourable.

Most unaccountably, at a subsequent cabinet meeting, March the 15th, to which neither the lord chancellor, the lord president, nor the lord chief justice were summoned, a resolution was taken to abandon the measure altogether. Nor was this the only, or even the chief indiscretion. A minute was transmitted to the King, who conceived that an amicable and final *eclaircissement* had taken place, announcing the relinquishment of the measure; and at the same time asserting “their right and intention to avow their opinions in parliament respecting their withdrawal of the bill, and in all future discussions relating to the catholic question: and also to submit for his Majesty’s decision from time to time, such advice respecting Ireland as the course of circumstances, and the interest of the empire should require.”

This superfluous declaration of *rights* which had never been controverted, excited in the breast of the King the greatest uneasiness, and apprehension. He thought that the question was never to be at rest, and that he was to remain perpetually exposed to a recurrence

of importunity and anxiety. The royal answer *unadvisedly* given, expressed some dissatisfaction at the parliamentary avowals which the ministers supposed to be necessary. It declared that his Majesty would never consent to any farther concessions; and demanded from ministers a positive and written assurance, that he should never again be distressed by a recurrence to this subject."

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Respecting a demand of this nature there could be no hesitation; and it was in dutiful terms represented to the King, "that those entrusted by him with the administration of his extensive empire, were bound by every obligation to submit without reserve the best advice they could frame to meet the exigencies of the times; and that the situation of Ireland constituted the most formidable part of the present difficulties."

On the day succeeding this communication, his Majesty with the most gracious expressions of his satisfaction in regard to every other part of their conduct, announced his intention of making a change of ministers. On the 18th of March lord Howick was authorized to notify this intention to parliament, and on the 25th of March his Majesty's pleasure was signified, that the members of the present administration should deliver up their seals of office.

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XXXVIII.1807.
Dismission
of the
Whig
Ministers.

Thus suddenly was dissolved this famous ministry, from the combined talents and virtues of whom so much had been expected by the nation. Their fall was the subject of much exultation to the tories, and of little regret to the whigs, who were deeply disappointed that no radical change of system had taken place. Mr. Fox, who alone could be supposed to balance the weight of lord Grenville in the cabinet, was in every point of view an irreparable loss. With him the pacificatory spirit expired; the prospect of another Continental coalition arose to view, and hope again told her flattering tale.

Character
of the
Whig
Admini-
stration.

The general conduct of the whig administration was nevertheless highly honourable to themselves and advantageous to the country. The limitation of military service, the various reforms of office, the abstaining from all reversionary grants, from all political prosecutions; with the amelioration of Scottish jurisprudence and the liberal boon to Ireland in their immediate contemplation; and above all, the abolition of the slave trade, that disgrace to humanity, will make this administration, short as it was in duration, for ever memorable in the annals of Britain. In relation to the war alone their policy was unadvised, and unfortunate; and though they did not originally repose *upon a*

bed of roses, it cannot be denied that the state of Europe was at this moment incomparably worse than at the period of their entrance into office.

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1807.

On the 19th of March, while the arrangements of the new administration were still pending, a resolution passed the house of commons on the motion of Mr. Bankes “that no office ought hereafter to be granted in reversion.” Also as it was understood that the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster had been offered to Mr. Perceval for life, as an inducement to relinquish his professional pursuits and take upon him the office of chancellor of the exchequer, an address was agreed upon by a majority of 228 to 115 voices, praying his Majesty “not to grant the said office, or any other not usually held for life, for any other term than during pleasure;” to which the King returned a gracious and satisfactory answer.

Resolution
against Re-
versionary
Grants.

Before the end of March the new administration was completely formed. At the head of the treasury, after an interval of more than twenty years, was for the second time placed the duke of Portland, now, from age and infirmity, regarded as a cypher in office; the efficient power residing in Mr. Perceval as chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Eldon resumed the great seal, the earl of Westmoreland the privy

Duke of
Portland
First Lord
of the
Treasury.

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seal, and earl Camden the presidency of the council. Lord Mulgrave was appointed to the admiralty; the earl of Chatham to the mastership of the ordnance; lords Castlereagh, Hawkesbury, and Mr. Canning, were the secretaries for the war, home, and foreign departments. Mr. Robert Dundas presided at the India board; Mr. G. Rose was made treasurer of the navy; sir James Pulteney secretary at war; sir Vicary Gibbs and sir Thomas Plomer attorney and solicitor generals.

Duke of
Richmond
Lord-Lieutenant of
Ireland.

The duke of Richmond succeeded the duke of Bedford in the government of Ireland. The character of the late viceroy had, in the progress of his administration, been duly appreciated by the sagacity of the Irish nation. Mild and unassuming in his deportment, guarded in his measures, yet decided in his principles, and firm in his purposes, he was peculiarly calculated to check the impetuosity, and gain the confidence of the catholics, without losing the esteem, or giving unnecessary offence to the protestants. His private virtues corresponded with, and corroborated those displayed in his public life; and ambition appeared foreign to his nature, excepting as it tended to enlarge his sphere of beneficence. On his return to England, he was received with distinguished kindness by the King, who

expressed the highest approbation of his conduct in the government with much regret for his resignation of it.

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1807.

Motions being made in both houses, March 26, for an adjournment to April 8; the lords Grenville and Howick entered into ample explanations respecting the causes of the late change, and in vindication of their personal honour, which was indeed above question. On the day succeeding the re-assembling of parliament, Mr. Brand, member for Herts, moved, "that it was contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown, to restrain themselves by any pledge express, or implied, from offering to the King any advice that the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare and security of any part of his extensive empire."

Motion of
Mr. Brand.

This was a constitutional axiom, which no one would presume to deny; but upon that very account, it formed a weak practical ground for a political trial of strength. General Crauford, apologizing "for his present dissent from those respected persons with whom he used to act, observed that the motion contained an abstract proposition, the adoption of which would seem as it were to arraign the sovereign at the bar of parliament; and its tendency was to cause our government to degenerate into a

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tyrannical oligarchy." Mr. Whitshed Keene "felt himself compelled to vote against the motion, because it amounted to an issue between his Majesty and his late ministers at the bar of the house." Mr. Perceval freely admitted the proposition "as true in the abstract, but it must be taken in conjunction with circumstances; and if the sovereign himself was to be brought in as the responsible person, it was impossible not so to consider it. With respect to the *implied pledge*, if it referred to the present ministers, he could assure the house, that they came into office unfettered by any pledge whatever." Mr. Canning declared "that this was the first instance since the time of King Charles I. that a sovereign had been judged at the bar of that house. It was, however, some consolation to reflect, that from such judgement there still lay an appeal to the tribunal of the country." The house at length divided, on the motion of Mr. Osborne, for the order of the day, in favour of which the numbers were 258 against 222 voices. On the 13th April, a motion, similar to that of Mr. Brand, brought forward in the upper house by the marquis of Stafford, was evaded by the previous question, the numbers being 171 to 90.

It must be acknowledged that there are cases

of embarrassment, though happily of rare occurrence, which are not, and perhaps cannot be provided against by any specific remedy. The pledge required by the King was doubtless irregular, and unconstitutional; but it was his own personal act, passing through no ministerial medium, and to which therefore no responsibility could attach. As parliament could not found any proceeding upon this anomaly, it was the part of wisdom to abstain from bringing it into their direct cognizance. Two days only after this last failure, Mr. Lyttleton moved a resolution in the house of commons, at the close of a short and able speech, "that this house considering a firm and efficient administration as essentially necessary at the present crisis, feels the deepest regret at the late change in his Majesty's counsels." Had this well-worded and well-guarded motion been originally adopted, it would probably have proved efficacious; but the first division was decisive; and after a vehement debate the order of the day was again carried by 244 to 198 voices.

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Motion of
Mr. Lyttleton.

It is remarkable that in these political contentions, the prince of Wales did not appear to take any part or interest; and since the decease of Mr. Fox, his communications with the late ministers were believed to be much

Dissensions in the
Royal
Family.

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1807.

less frequent and cordial. The marriage of this great personage had, from causes imperfectly developed, proved very unhappy; and an early separation had followed what was at the time it took place regarded as a forced and reluctant union. The subsequent conduct of the princess was by no means so guarded as was requisite, under circumstances which exacted more than ordinary prudence. In consequence of representations made to the prince, and by him to the King, a committee of council had recently been appointed to investigate the charges against her: consisting of the law lords Erskine and Ellenborough, and other distinguished peers. Their report acquitted the princess of serious culpability; though it admitted, as the evidence subjoined but too plainly proved, that her conduct was liable to the imputation of levity and indiscretion.

Dissolu-
tion of Par-
liament.

On the 27th April (1807) the parliament was prorogued by commission, and dissolved on the 29th, the lord chancellor declaring in his Majesty's name "the anxiety he felt to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection."

Revival of
Fanati-
cism.

The passions of the people were by this time very generally excited by a question in which the essence of religion was supposed to be

involved. On this occasion the clergy, as might be expected, took the lead. In an address from the president and fellows of Sion College, that venerable body expressed "their deep and indelible gratitude to his Majesty for the recent instance he had afforded of his royal wisdom and constancy. In his firm refusal to sanction projects utterly subversive of the strongest barriers of that constitution which his august family were called by divine providence to defend, they recognize a most conscientious adherence to the sanctity of his coronation oath."

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1807.

The corporation of London also, perhaps the most perfect mirror of the public mind, offered an address (April 22d,) in which they avowed their "warmest and most unfeigned gratitude for the dignified and decided support and protection given by him to the *protestant reformed religion*, as by law established; and for the firm and constitutional exercise of his royal prerogative to preserve the independence of the crown." Numerous addresses of the same stamp followed both from clergy and laity, in every part of the kingdom.

The re-echo of these deplorably mistaken sentiments from the throne, heightened folly into frenzy. "His Majesty," said the lord chancellor on announcing the dissolution of parlia-

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ment, “feels that in resorting to this measure under the present circumstances, he at once demonstrates in the most unequivocal manner, his own conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of those motives upon which he has acted, and affords to his people the best opportunity of testifying their determination to support him in every exercise of the prerogatives of his crown, which is conformable to the sacred obligations under which they are held, and conducive to the welfare of his kingdom, and to the security of the constitution.” After this, it was in vain to conclude with saying, “His Majesty has directed us most earnestly to recommend to you, that you should cultivate by all means in your power, a spirit of union, harmony, and good will, amongst all classes and descriptions of his people.” From this moment, the fanatic cry of “No Popery” once more resounded throughout the nation; and the contested elections almost every where terminated to the advantage of the new administration. Even lord Howick was obliged to resign his pretensions to Northumberland, his native county, which he had represented for a series of twenty years, with the highest ability, honour, and reputation

The new parliament, of which Mr. Abbot was once more unanimously chosen speaker, was opened by commission June 26, (1807). The lords commissioners had the King's commands to state "that he was deeply impressed with the peculiar importance at the present moment of cherishing a spirit of union and harmony amongst his people—as such a spirit would most effectually promote the prosperity of the country at home, and give vigour and efficacy to its counsels, and its arms abroad."—The addresses were carried with a high hand in favour of the court; the numbers being 160 to 67 in the house of peers, and 350 to 155 in that of the commons. A subsequent motion of enquiry into the state of the nation was negatived by 322 to 136 voices.

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1807.
New Par-
liament
convened
June 26.

In consequence of the distracted state of Ireland, which had greatly increased since the recall of the duke of Bedford, the Irish insurrection act of 1796 was revived on the motion of sir Arthur Wellesley, secretary to the duke of Richmond.

Irish Insur-
rection Act
revived.

A bill for adding about 40,000 men to the military force of the country, introduced by lord Castlereagh, passed into a law. A bill sent up from the lower house against granting reversions of offices, was on a division of 15 peers to 9, ordered to be read a second time that day

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three months. This was, however, accompanied by a strong protest; and the resolution of the commons stigmatizing in no ceremonious terms that flagrant abuse, operated as a bar to its continuance.

Parliament
prorogued,
August 14.

Mr. Paul, the honest and undaunted accuser of the late governor-general of India, being no longer a member of the house, all proceedings on that head were suspended. On the 14th August (1807) the parliament was prorogued by commission; the most remarkable portion of the speech delivered on that occasion by the lord chancellor was couched in the following terms: "His Majesty trusts that his parliament and his people will always be ready to support him in every measure which may be necessary to defeat the designs of his enemies, and to maintain against any hostile confederacy those just rights, which, as essential to the honour of his crown and the true interests of his people, he is determined never to surrender."

Military
operations
in Poland.

The bloody battle of Pultusk, which terminated the campaign of 1806 in Poland, though claimed as a victory by the French, was scarcely allowed as such by the Russians. A general levy was ordered by the emperor Alexander throughout his immense dominions, raising the military force of the empire to more than 600,000 men. Early in 1807, Bres-

lau surrendered to prince Jerome, and the remaining fortresses of Silesia soon followed. In Poland the intermission of hostilities was very short, and various encounters preceded a great and general battle at Eylau on the 7th February, in which Napoleon commanded the infantry in person, the duke of Berg leading the cavalry. It was fought amidst a heavy fall of snow; and after the most obstinate exertions, night separated the combatants, both sides claiming the victory; but the Russians, after an interval of suspense, retreated beyond the Pregel; where they were joined by the emperor and his brother the grand duke Constantine, with large reinforcements.

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The siege of Dantzic, defended by 16,000 men under general Kalkreuth, was now undertaken by the French; and after a resolute resistance that important place capitulated on the 27th of May. In the meantime, almost the whole of Swedish Pomerania was reduced by the marechals Brune and Mortier; the king of Sweden rejecting with disdain every overture of accommodation. To Stralsund, whither he withdrew with a force not exceeding 20,000 men, he was joined by a corps of foreign troops in British pay; receiving flattering assurances of farther succour:

Capture of
Dantzic.

Pomerania
conquered.

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1807.

and this Quixotic monarch declared, “that should the standard of Louis XVIII. be abandoned by all the world besides, it should still be unfurled in Sweden.”

Battle of
Friedland.

Subsequent to the surrender of Dantzic, hostilities recommenced between the two grand armies, attended with great slaughter, but no decisive advantage. Upon the whole, however, the Russians were so hard pressed that a resolution was taken to abandon their entrenched camp, and retreat in the direction of Koningsberg. This brought on the famous battle of Friedland, which took place June 14, the anniversary of the victory of Marengo, of which Napoleon did not fail to remind his troops. The French emperor was seconded by the skill and courage of the marechals Ney, Mortier, Victor, and Lasnes; general Murat, as usual, commanded the cavalry. The conflict, which began at five in the morning, lasted till seven in the evening; when the French, skilfully collecting their force, furiously broke into the centre of the Russians. In the confusion which ensued, a retreat commenced, scarcely less ruinous than that of the Austrians at Marengo; and the pursuit continued for several hours with terrible execution; numbers also being drowned in attempting the fords of the Alle.

The main army of the Russians hastened its march beyond the Niemen, destroying the bridges and magazines on their route; and on the 18th, after the loss of more than 20,000 men, they took a strong position near Tilsit. This great victory was followed by the immediate evacuation of Koningsberg, containing large stores of grain, and arms from England. On the approach of Bonaparte to Tilsit, an overture of peace was made on the part of Alexander, by Beningsen, the Russian general. On the 22d of June an armistice was signed; and on the 25th an interview took place between the two emperors, in a tent erected upon a raft on the Niemen. Preliminaries being quickly agreed upon, a definitive treaty was signed, July 7th, 1807; to which the king of Prussia, who had also repaired to Tilsit, acceded.

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1807.

By the terms of this famous treaty, the conquests made by France in antient Prussia and Upper Saxony, were, “out of esteem for the emperor of all the Russias,” such are the words of the treaty, “restored to the king of Prussia. The Polish provinces of Prussia, excepting, 1st, a specific reservation requisite for the purposes of connection and communication, and, 2dly, a portion ceded to Russia, and serving to round her Polish territories, were

Treaty of
Tilsit.

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XXXVIII.

1807.

assigned, under the title of the grand duchy of Warsaw, to the king of Saxony; thus elevated to an equality at least with the monarch of Prussia, who was likewise compelled to relinquish all his dominions in Lower Saxony, in Westphalia, and upon the Rhine. Russia and Prussia recognized Joseph Bonaparte as king of Naples; Louis as king of Holland; and Jerome as king of Westphalia; a new monarchy unheard of previous to the present treaty, and which included not only the dominions of Prussia in that quarter, but those of Hesse Cassel and various other potentates. The confederation of the Rhine was likewise acknowledged; and the mediation of Russia accepted by France for peace with England; and that of France by Russia for peace with Turkey.

Conven-
tion of
Stralsund.

The treaty of Tilsit necessarily terminated the hopeless resistance of Gustavus IV. in Germany. The investment of Stralsund being actually formed by land, the Swedish monarch withdrew with the greater part of his troops, in the night of the 19th of August, to the isle of Rugen, and thence to Sweden: and on the 7th of September (1807) a convention was signed, by which all the Germanic dominions of Sweden, including the islands on the coast,

were left, till the conclusion of a definitive peace, in possession of France.

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XXXVIII.

1807.

Affairs of
Turkey.

The immediate consequence of the unprovoked attack on Constantinople was the seizure of British property at Smyrna, Salonica, and other places, with the cessation of all commercial relations with the Porte. But the successes of Russia on the Danube still continued. Giurgewo was taken, and Ismael besieged. Servia and Bosnia were in a state of revolt; and the army of the grand vizier moved slowly to the scene of contest. On the Black Sea and Archipelago also, the superiority of the Russian marine enabled that power to intercept the supplies of corn to the capital, and to capture the isle of Tenedos. Great discontent prevailed, moreover, at the military influence of the French resident Sebastiani, who, under the patronage of the sultan, had attempted the introduction of the European dress and tactics. Towards the middle of May, the Janizaries repaired from all parts to Constantinople, where they were joined by the mufti and other officers of state. The seraglio, according to Turkish precedent, was then invested; and the sultan as usual attempted to appease their rage by sending them the heads of the most obnoxious members of the divan; that is to say, the most enlightened

Deposition
of Selim
III. May
29, 1807.

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XXXVIII.

1807.

and virtuous of them. This proved of no avail; the unhappy Selim was compelled to sign a deed of renunciation, and his kinsman, Mustapha, born A. D. 1780, son of Abdulhamet, was declared emperor. The grand vizier was strangled in the camp; but the life of the deposed sultan was spared by the compassion of his successor. On the 1st of July, the Turks were totally defeated in an obstinate naval engagement off Tenedos, almost the whole of their fleet being taken or destroyed.

Armistice
between
Russia and
Turkey,
August
1807.

But by the seasonable and powerful interposition of France, an armistice was signed with Russia soon after the peace of Tilsit, by which Moldavia and Walachia were evacuated both by Russia and the Porte; the latter retaining only the fortresses of Ismael, Brailow, and Giurgewo. To the pacific overtures, nevertheless, of Great Britain, the Sublime Porte, influenced by France and its own just resentment, refused to hearken.

Mediation
of Austria
offered to
Great
Britain.

In the interval between what was stiled the victory of Eylau, and the dreadful defeat of Friedland, the Austrian ambassador in London, Count Staremberg, offered in form (April 18), the amicable mediation of the emperor Francis II., for effecting a peace, and his good offices for opening a negotiation. The official answer of Mr. Canning, in the Janus-like stile

of the English court on such occasions, declared “that to such negotiations, whenever the consent of the other parties interested in them shall be obtained, the King will willingly accede: and if their views shall be favourable to his imperial majesty’s proposal, he will lose no time in concerting with them the mode in which such negotiations should be opened; and of agreeing upon the principles which it might be expedient previously to establish, as the basis and foundation of a general discussion and arrangement.” The emperor Francis, regarding this reply as a civil refusal, desisted from his purpose.

BOOK
XXXVIII.
1807.

Subsequent to the treaty of Tilsit, the article relative to the mediation of Russia was notified (August 1st,) to Mr. Canning, by M. Alopeus, the ambassador of that power. In answer, the English secretary, after enlarging much on his Majesty’s pacific dispositions, required as a preliminary “the communication of the secret articles of the late treaty; and the *statement* of those honourable and equitable principles, upon which his imperial majesty believed that France was desirous of concluding peace with Great Britain.” With respect to the secret articles of Tilsit, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, general Budberg, assured the English ambassador at Pe-

Mediation
of Russia
offered.

BOOK
XXXVIII.

1807.

Dispatch
of Lord L.
Gower,
Sept. 2.

tersburg, lord Leveson Gower, “that though such articles certainly existed, they in no wise concerned the interests of England; and as to the honourable and equitable principles alluded to, they would be best explained by the overtures which the emperor Alexander, as mediator, *was empowered to make at the opening of the negotiation.*”

Notwithstanding this frank and fair declaration, the ambassador expressed to the Russian minister “his wishes that their whole attention should be turned to the future; and that he was persuaded if the emperor of Russia still entertained his former opinions of the danger to be apprehended from the preponderance of France, the cause of the independence of Europe was by no means desperate.” That lord L. Gower, in using this extraordinary language, had not mistaken the sentiments of his court, was evident from the reply of Mr. Canning, who tells the ambassador “that he cannot too constantly impress upon the Russian minister the topic which he had so *judiciously* employed in the late conferences; that the establishment of future good understanding, and the concert of measures to be taken with a view to future exertion, were *alone* the proper subjects of discussion between the two governments.” While the Eng-

lish court still indulged these delusive hopes, she adopted a measure of violence, not only destructive of them, but which converted Russia from a sincere friend, into an undisguised and determined enemy.

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1807.

Possessed with the alarming suspicion, not founded on any substantial grounds, that the secret articles of Tilsit laid the foundation of a maritime combination against Britain, to which Denmark would be compelled to accede, the most *vigorous* measures of counteraction were resolved upon. Of this design some intimation had been given in the King's speech at the close of the session: and a powerful fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, with the usual accompaniments of frigates and smaller vessels, had been fitted out, with transports for an army of 20,000 men, under the command of admiral Gambier and lord Cathcart. On the 12th of August, Mr. Jackson, envoy extraordinary to the court of Denmark, arrived at Copenhagen; his instructions were to represent to the prince regent, the motives and apprehensions of the British government, and to use every argument to induce him to acquiesce in the necessity of yielding to the measure he had to propose. This was no less than the delivery of the entire Danish navy into the possession of Bri-

Expedition
against
Denmark.

BOOK
XXXVIII.

1807.

tain, under a solemn engagement to restore the same at the conclusion of the war: and to this demand an instant and categorical answer was required; in default of which, hostile operations would forthwith commence.

The astonishment of the prince was inexpressible: but as not a gun was mounted on the ramparts of Copenhagen, or scarcely any military force in Zealand, he attempted to avert the blow by the most solemn protestations of adherence to the neutrality which he had uniformly professed. But the British minister answered only by the demand of passports, and was received on board the fleet then at anchor near the port. This drew forth a memorable declaration from the Danish government.

Appendix,
No. VI.

Siege of Copenhagen.

Official
Dispatches.Helfried's
Survey,
p. 55. 70.

The army which landed, August 16th, was soon joined by the troops from Stralsund, and the Danish capital was invested by land and sea. A considerable military force having by this time assembled in Zealand, sir Arthur Wellesley was detached to oppose its progress; and in a sharp encounter, the Danes were defeated with the loss of near 1200 men, including sixty officers. No overtures being made on the part of the besieged, and no impression produced by the summons sent by the besiegers, the bombardment of the city com-

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XXXVIII.
1807.

menced, September the 2d, with such tremendous effect, as to threaten a general conflagration. The cathedral, many public edifices, and four hundred private houses were destroyed, besides a far greater number materially damaged; with the sacrifice of not less than 2000 lives. The flames were kept up in different places till the evening of the 5th, when the commander of the garrison, in order to prevent the consummation of ruin, sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice. The articles of surrender being speedily settled, the British troops took possession (September 8), of the city and citadel. The Danish navy, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates and smaller vessels, were delivered under an engagement, on the part of the British commanders, to evacuate the isle of Zealand in six weeks. Towards the close of October, the victors returned from their expedition, and entered the harbour of Portsmouth in triumph with the captured navy of Denmark. But this extraordinary spectacle was not hailed by any shouts of gratulation. This was a victory which caused no exulting emotions. The long glories of Britain disdained an association with such an exploit; and the question was pointedly asked, “What words would have been strong enough to express the national abhor-

Surrender
of the City
& Citadel.

BOOK
XXXVIII.

1807.

Rupture
with Rus-
sia.

rence, had this been the act of the blood-stained tyrant of France ?”

The Danes immediately commenced hostilities against Great Britain, and fitted out a number of armed vessels, which greatly harassed the trade of the Baltic: in revenge, the Danish West India islands St. Thomas and St. Croix were seized by the English. The emperor of Russia passionately resented the conduct of England; and to a nobleman of high distinction then at Petersburg, lord Hutchinson, he declared in the strongest terms the innocence of Denmark; he *knew* that the prince regent had refused every overture to co-operate with France; and had expressed to himself his determination not to depart from his neutrality. “ I suppose,” added he, “ the English fleet will now come to Cronstadt; and I shall prepare to repel the attack.” In a declaration issued from St. Petersburg, October the 30th, he stiles the destruction of Copenhagen, “ an outrage unparalleled in history; and Denmark, a power which, by its moderation and wisdom, maintained a sort of moral dignity amidst surrounding and conflicting monarchies.” He recalled his embassy from London, and annulled every existing convention with Great Britain; proclaiming anew the principles of the armed neutrality. On

the 9th November, the British ambassador received an official note which terminated his mission, the emperor declaring “that he had offered his mediation to obtain for his Britannic Majesty an honourable peace; that England had rejected his offices; and that it seemed as if her views were, not to *suffer* the flames of war to be extinguished, but to kindle them anew in the north, by an act of which history furnishes no example.”

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XXXVIII.
1807.

The declaration of war issued December 18, (1807,) on the part of Great Britain against Russia, is chiefly remarkable for the frankness of its confessions. “The emperor of Russia,” it is said, “cannot fail to remember that the last negotiation between Great Britain and France was broken off upon points immediately affecting, *not his Majesty’s own interests*, but those of his imperial ally.” And again, the present war against Turkey is expressly avowed “to be a war undertaken by Great Britain at the instigation of Russia; and *solely* for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests against the influence of France.” These were indeed extraordinary instances of national complaisance! Not only Russia, but every country in Christendom, might be safely challenged to produce the like.

Declara-
tion of
War.

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XXXVIII.

1807.
Mediation
of Austria
again
offered.

The court of Vienna, perceiving the door of hope thus shut on the part of Russia, again with laudable zeal reverted to her own proposition of mediation; and count Staremberg, a nobleman distinguished for his diplomatic talents, and his political attachment to England, addressed a note to Mr. Canning, November 20th, stating “that he had received positive orders from his court, to make the most earnest representations on the importance of putting an end to the struggle still existing between England and France; and the effects of which may produce to the rest of Europe the most fatal consequences.”

The English secretary, in reply, expressed “the *surprize* of his Majesty at this application, after being put in possession of his Majesty’s sentiments so long ago as April last; but, in compliance with wishes expressed with so much earnestness, his Majesty is willing to repeat once more the assurance already so often repeated, that his Majesty is now, as he has at all times been, prepared to enter into negotiation for the conclusion of such a peace, &c.” From the tenor of this answer, it might be supposed that seven *days* only, instead of seven *months*, had elapsed since the former application, and that no change in the state of Europe had taken place in the interval.

Upon this slender foundation of hope, nevertheless, count Staremberg, recently advanced to the title of prince, informed the English secretary in a second note, dated January 1st, 1808, that “in consequence of the *pacific dispositions* announced by his Britannic Majesty, in the answer returned on the 23d November, obeying the orders of his court, and conforming to the desire of that of the Tuilleries, he is charged to propose to the English ministry, to send immediately plenipotentiaries to Paris, for the purpose of treating for the establishment of peace; and his imperial majesty consents with eagerness to be the intermediary of a result so desirable.” After the interval of a week, an answer of great length and elaboration was returned, so replete with evasions, and exceptions, as without a formal or direct rejection, to put an end to every idea of proceeding in the mediation.

“*If* the prince de Staremberg,” says the English minister, “has in this instance acted under the specific and immediate orders of his court; and *if* the proposal to his Majesty to send plenipotentiaries to Paris, is to be considered as originating at Vienna, the undersigned is commanded to express his Majesty’s concern, that so little reference should appear to have been had, in framing the proposal now

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1807.

Letter of
Mr. Can-
ning, Jan.
8, 1808.

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1807.

offered, to the correspondence which has already taken place between the courts of London and Vienna, upon the subject of a negotiation for peace. *If*, on the other hand, the court of Vienna is no otherwise concerned in the step which the prince de S. has taken, than as having generally authorized that minister, the undersigned is commanded to remark, that the statement of some precise authority, and the production of some specific and authenticated document, could alone *justify* the court to which he addresses himself, in founding a public and important measure upon such a communication," &c. &c.

As there could not be a more *authentic* communication than that of the prince de Staremberg, the objection resolved itself into *a point of etiquette more Germanic* than the imperial ambassador himself could have anticipated. Mr. Canning proceeds to say, "that the proposal *thus* conveyed on the part of France, can be construed no otherwise by his Majesty, than as implying an unjustifiable doubt of the sincerity of his Majesty's professions!" The frivolous complaint of the want of a *basis* is likewise insisted on; and it is haughtily declared, "that his Majesty will not again consent to send his plenipotentiaries to a hostile capital." In fine, the prince is told "that his

Majesty gives him no authority to speak in his name to France."

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XXXVIII.

This harshness of language was the less to be looked for, as the prince, in his zeal to obtain for England an honourable peace, had specifically offered Mr. Canning "either to communicate to the court of France any preliminary points, any basis, any wishes the English ministry might have relative to the first opening of a negotiation; *or* to signify to France from them, that they were ready to receive any reasonable preliminary proposals that France would offer them; *or* finally to be the bearer himself of any overture on their part to France, to prepare the way for our own negotiators."

1807.
Narrative
of Prince
de Star-
emberg,
Appendix,
No. VII.

To a letter so rude and so unworthy of the acknowledged talents of Mr. Canning, the prince deigned no other reply, than the immediate demand of passports for himself and suite, which were sent accordingly; and Great Britain became once more an isolated power in Europe.

On the return of the emperor Napoleon to Paris, he was welcomed with acclamations of triumph. In his address to the legislative body (August 17) he declared "his wishes for a maritime peace. *No irritation,*" said he, "*shall ever have any influence on my decisions*"

State of
France.

BOOK
XXXVIII.

1807.

respecting that object. The minister of the interior will give you an account of the public works which are begun or finished. But those which may still be expected are much more considerable ; since it is my determination that in all parts of the empire, even in the smallest hamlet, the comforts of the citizens shall be increased by the developement of that universal system of improvement which I have formed." The address in reply took occasion to remark, " that the pacificator was more admired than the conqueror of Europe."

The improvements alluded to in the speech were indeed wonderful. The national establishments to preclude mendicity; the repair and construction of roads, the erection of bridges, the extension of navigation by rivers and canals, the enlargement of harbours, the encouragement given to agriculture and manufactures, the homage paid to science and literature, the patronage of the arts, the embellishments of the metropolis, in fine, the equitable system of jurisprudence, civil and ecclesiastical, which pervaded the empire, all attested the reign of a superior genius, already in imagination and emulation a second *Charlemagne*. But the splendid qualities productive of these great results were marred by a spirit of illimitable ambition, fostered by unparalleled

success and the rejection of all his pacific advances. It may be remarked that about this time the tribunate was abolished; the senate, and legislative body, only remaining; by which the constitution of France made a nearer approach in external form to that of Great Britain. Subsequent to the French emperor's public announcement of his wishes for a maritime peace, M. Champagny, by his express order, addressed a letter to count Metternich, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, desiring that prince Staremberg would without delay propose the mediation of his court; and the prince was invested on the part of France with full powers to open a negotiation in London, and to grant passports for any plenipotentiaries from England to treat at Paris. That no disposition existed on the part of the court of London to meet these advances, appeared but too manifest.

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XXXVIII.

1807.

In consequence of the *décret* of Berlin, the regular channels through which British manufactures and colonial produce had found their way to the remotest parts of Europe, were now closed. The balances due to the English merchants were detained, and in numerous instances British property had been confiscated. The distress of the West India planters, thus excluded from the Continental marts, was pe-

Commer-
cial Embar-
rassments.

BOOK
XXXVIII.

1807.

culiarly great; and commerce throughout all its complex relations was disordered. Had Britain refrained from retaliating injustice by injustice, America, in alliance with the mother country, would have set the naval power of France at defiance, and have been the carriers as well as consumers of English manufactures to an unlimited extent; but the order in council of January 1807, was felt as a fatal blow to the intercourse of the United States with the continent of Europe.

Revival of
Disputes
with Ame-
rica.

The relations of peace and amity between Great Britain and America, though disturbed, were not dissolved, when an incident occurred which threatened an immediate breach. On the 23d of June the Leopard man-of-war, meeting off the capes of Virginia with the American frigate Chesapeake, a dispute arose respecting the right of search; and on a broadside being fired into the frigate, she struck her colours; but the supposed British seamen being taken out, she was immediately released. A great flame was kindled throughout America by this transaction; and the president Jefferson issued a proclamation, conceived in strong terms and affirming that the men re-claimed were native Americans. He therefore ordered the departure forthwith of all British ships of war from the ports and harbours of the United

States: and in his message to the senate and house of representatives, at their annual meeting (October 27), the president declared the attack on the Chesapeake to be an outrage of which the character had been pronounced by the unanimous and indignant voice of America. He also called their attention "to the violation of maritime rights by England, who had by an order of council interdicted all trade between ports not in amity with her, although she was now at war with almost every country on the Atlantic, or Mediterranean seas." The president, however, declared that discussions were still going on; and in the result the British government had the moderation to issue a proclamation, in which the claim of search is renounced in respect to ships of war, and retained only in the case of merchant ships.

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XXXVIII.

1807.

But on the 9th of November, 1807, three additional orders in council were issued: by the *first* of which, every port of every country, from which Great Britain is excluded, is declared to be in a state of blockade. All trade in the produce or manufactures of those countries is pronounced illegal; and all neutral vessels employed in such trade, are liable to seizure; except vessels clearing from Great Britain or Ireland. By the *second* the goods

Additional
Orders in
Council.

BOOK
XXXVIII.
1807.

of those countries from which the British flag is excluded, may be imported by neutrals into England. By the *third*, ships sold by a beligerent power to a neutral, are declared lawful prize. This was a blow aimed at the coasting trade of France, which was in great part carried on in neutral ships of this description: and though the Americans might still trade with the enemies' colonies for their own consumption, the intolerable obligation was imposed upon them, of calling at a British port and paying a British transit duty.

Decree of
Milan.

To these orders Napoleon published a prompt rejoinder, dated from Milan, December 7th, 1807, in which he decreed "that all ships of war, of whatever nation, which should have submitted to a search or to a voyage to England, or should have paid any tax to the English government, were to be regarded as *denationalized*, and liable to seizure, either in the ports under the control of France, or at sea: and that every ship sailing from England, or its colonies, should be good and lawful prize." Thus war between two Christian nations was carried on in a mode to disgrace Turks, or Heathens. Under these extraordinary circumstances, an act was passed by the legislature of the United States of America, laying an embargo on all American vessels:

and at the same time commanding ships from all other nations, to quit the American harbours either with or without cargoes.

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XXXVIII.
1807.

Soon after the peace of Tilsit, the French emperor demanded in peremptory terms of the court of Portugal, to shut the ports of that kingdom against the English, and to confiscate all British property, denouncing war in case of refusal. The prince regent, by a partial compliance, sought to temporize; but this feeble policy was soon abandoned; and preparations were made for removing the seat of government to Brazil. A British squadron was at this time in the Tagus under Sir Sidney Smith, ready to act according to circumstances: and a decree being at length fulminated, "that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign," the prince, accompanied by the queen his mother, and the whole royal family, embarked (November 29) on board a Portuguese fleet of eight ships of the line and four frigates, being nearly his whole naval force, and sailed from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in company with the British squadron. The island of Madeira was placed for safety in the hands of the British government. Shortly after the departure of the combined squadrons, the French invaders, under general Junot, entered Lisbon without opposition.

Departure
of the
Court of
Portugal
to Brazil.

BOOK
XXXVIII.1807.
State of
Spain.

The attention of Napoleon, whose aspiring views extended from the Euxine to the Atlantic, had been for some time fixed on the wretched condition of the Spanish nation, at once oppressed and degraded by the most base and profligate of governments. By a treaty concluded at Fontainebleau, October 29th, (1807) between France and Spain, the northern portion of Portugal, bounded by the Minho and Douro, with the title of king of North Lusatia, was allotted to the infant king of Etruria, son of Louis, who after a short reign had died in the year 1803; and Tuscany was ceded to France. Alentejo and the Algarves were assigned as an independent principality to Godoy, prince of the peace; the other provinces of Portugal to remain in sequestration for the present. Moreover, by this treaty, it was agreed, that the Spanish fortresses of Pampeluna, Barcelona, Saint Sebastian, and Figueras, should be delivered up to France; soon after which, general Murat advanced at the head of a numerous army into Spain. At the same time 16,000 of the best Spanish troops were serving in the armies of Napoleon in Germany. On the 30th of October, an extraordinary declaration was published by the king of Spain, stating “that his life and crown had been brought into danger by a conspiracy,

of which his own son, the heir-apparent to his throne, was the author; whom, in consequence, he had ordered to be put under arrest." It was discovered that a secret correspondence had been carried on by the prince of Asturias with the French emperor: and that the heir of Spain was solicitous for the honour of an alliance with the imperial house of Bonaparte. Through the mediation of Godoy, the creature and dupe of Napoleon, the appearance of a reconciliation was effected; and the prince wrote a letter of submission to the king. This was the first act of a drama which led to serious and unexpected results.

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE III.

BOOK XXXIX.

SESSION of Parliament, January 1808. Protest against the Danish War. Charge against Marquis Wellesley negatived. Abdication of Charles IV. King of Spain. Peace restored with Spain. Victory of Baylen. War between Russia and Sweden. Usurpation of the Papal Territories by Napoleon. General Murat declared King of Naples. Deposition of the Grand Seignor Mustapha. Victory of Vimeira. Battle of Corunna. Session of Parliament, January 1809. Duke of York resigns his office. Battles of Esling and Wagram. Campaign in Spain. Battles of Talavera and Ocana. Deposition of Gustavus IV. King of Sweden. Expedition to Walcheren. Spanish Cortes convened. Holland annexed to the French empire. Differences with America inflamed. Death of the Princess Amelia. Return of the King's majesty. Regency Act.

BOOK
XXXIX.
1808.
Session of
Parliament
Jan. 21st,
1808.

THE parliament of the United Kingdom was opened on the 21st of January 1808, by commission; the King, from growing infirmity, being wholly unable to exercise his royal func-

tions in person. The speech delivered in his name was of unusual length. It alluded to the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, as hostile to Great Britain, though this had been positively denied by the emperor Alexander, who had, on the contrary, eagerly offered his amicable mediation. Upon the whole it was but too apparent that Austria, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Turkey, were added to the catalogue of his Majesty's former enemies, France, Spain, Italy, and Holland. The only consolation held out was, "that the king of Sweden had resisted every attempt to induce him to abandon his alliance with Great Britain." "And the lords commissioners were especially commanded to say, in the name of his Majesty, that if ever there was a just and national war, it is that which his Majesty was now compelled to prosecute."

BOOK
XXXIX.

1808.

An address being moved in the house of peers, importing an unqualified approbation of the attack on Denmark, the duke of Norfolk observed "that no evidence was brought forward to prove the necessity of that measure, and he thought it was carrying the doctrine of confidence too far to require the sanction of that assembly to a procedure so subversive of the established law of nations; he therefore moved the omission of that clause." This,

Debate on
Denmark,
House of
Lords.

BOOK
XXXIX.

1808.

Protest
against the
Danish
War. •

after a warm debate, was negatived without a division ; as was another amendment by lord Grenville, intimating the suspension of their judgment relative to the rejection of the Russian mediation, till the papers relative to the question came before them.

A short and forcible protest was entered upon the journals on the subject of Denmark, signed by the dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, and the lords Rawdon, Lauderdale, Grey, Holland, Sidmouth, and Erskine. “ Because no proof of hostile intention on the part of Denmark, has been adduced, nor any case of necessity made out to justify the attack on Copenhagen ; without which the measure is, in our conception, discreditable to the character, and injurious to the interests of the country.” In a farther series of reasons signed by lord Erskine alone, it is affirmed “ to have been completely in the power of Britain to have protected the Danish fleet from any hostile attack of France, which destroys the pretence of invincible necessity ; that no *speculation* of the probable fall of the Danish fleet into the possession, or power of France, would justify its hostile seizure by Great Britain ; that such a seizure would be subversive of the first elements of public law, and that until this attack upon Copenhagen shall receive vindication by

proof of its justice, Great Britain has lost her moral situation in the world." In the house of commons, the address, after a similar discussion, was carried likewise without a division.

BOOK
XXXIX.

1808.

After a short interval, this great question was again agitated, on a motion for papers relative to the expedition, by the duke of Norfolk. Upon this occasion, marquis Wellesley argued, "that there were some things so *self-evident* as to require no illustration; and this was one of them. The design and power of France to compel Denmark to join the neutral league were manifest; and Great Britain had a right, which no law opposed, to secure itself against the effect of such a junction."

Motion for
Papers.
House of
Lords.

Lord Hutchinson, on the contrary, "denied the existence of any such necessity as had been alledged; or of any ground whatever to charge the Danes with a want of good faith. The attack on Denmark, far from being a measure of wisdom or security, was the very reverse; and had plunged us unnecessarily into a war with Russia. To say there is nothing just or unjust but what is commanded or forbidden by positive law, is to affirm, in the words of Montesquieu, 'that before the circle was traced, all its *radii* were not equal.' The noble lord then adverted to the military mis-

Lord
Hutchin-
son.

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sion upon which he had been sent to the emperor Alexander, during the last Polish campaign; and he justified the treaty of Tilsit, as the only alternative left after the great but unsuccessful exertions of Russia. But the emperor, far from joining in any naval confederacy against England, was still the sincere and cordial friend of this country to the period of the Danish expedition, which had materially changed the relations subsisting between Great Britain and Russia; and drawn upon us the general condemnation of Europe."

Lord
Hawkes-
bury.

Lord Hawkesbury, whose personal honour was above question, protested, "that those principles of morality and justice, from which he had been accused of deviating, were dearer to him than any interest upon earth. The intelligence on which ministers had acted could not be divulged; but he solemnly declared, that in his opinion the expedition was necessary for the salvation of the country." The numbers in favour of the motion were 48, against it 105 peers. On a similar motion by Mr. Ponsonby in the house of commons, Mr. Windham condemned, in the most decisive terms, both the Danish and Spanish wars; and affirmed "that the only way left of effacing the stains thus brought upon the country, was the public avowal of their atrocity; and he

Ibid.
House of
Commons.

accused ministers of having sacrificed the national reputation. The ruins of Copenhagen were the monument of their disgrace." The motion, after long debate, was negatived by 253 to 108 voices.

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After a short interval, lord Sidmouth, on the obvious ground that the injury inflicted should not extend beyond the necessity which created it, though on his own part strongly denying such necessity, moved an address to his Majesty, praying "that the ships taken at Copenhagen might be kept in such a state as not to preclude their eventual restitution." This was powerfully supported by lord Grenville, who wished "to demonstrate to all Europe by this act of justice and retribution, that the people of this country were still alive to a sense of honour, and of that proud national feeling which had always distinguished them." On this occasion the opposition divided 51 peers to the court majority of 105, who rejected the motion.

Motion by
Lord Sid-
mouth,
Feb. 18.

On the 29th February Mr. Whitbread moved three resolutions: the 1st censuring the refusal of the Russian, the 2nd of the Austrian mediation, and the 3d declaring "that in the present circumstances of the war, there was nothing to preclude negotiation." In all of which he was ably supported by Mr. Sheridan. They were

Motion re-
specting
the Russian
and Aus-
trian Medi-
ation.

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affirmed by that eloquent speaker, now reverting to his former sentiments, “to be such as ought to be passed by that house as a guide and warning to ministers, who had suffered repeated opportunities to pass by unimproved, and would serve to satisfy the country, that the house was disposed to peace when fairly and honourably attainable.” The resolutions were nevertheless successively negatived by overwhelming majorities.

Motion
respecting
Oude.

At this period of the session, lord Folkestone moved that the Oude papers should be taken into consideration. Though this question had now been depending in three parliaments, many of the present members could scarcely have had time to peruse with proper attention so voluminous a mass of materials: and it was proposed by Mr. Creevy, whose knowledge and integrity on all subjects of national concern, and particularly those of India, were conspicuous, to refer these papers to a committee to digest and make their report. But sir Arthur Wellesley pressing on the part of the marquis for a speedy decision; an adjournment of fifteen days only took place.

Charge
against
Marquis
Wellesley.

On the 9th March accordingly lord Folkestone, in a speech which compelled a respectful hearing, arraigned with great severity the conduct of the marquis in his transactions

with the nabob of Oude : and concluded by moving a series of resolutions in conformity to the foregoing representation. The marquis was defended in an elaborate reply by sir John Anstruther, who had held a high judicial office in India. After a long and interesting debate, the previous question was put on all the resolutions excepting the last ; in lieu of which sir John Anstruther moved, “ that marquis Wellesley in his proceedings in the province of Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the public service, and by an anxious desire to provide more effectually for the safety and prosperity of the British empire in India.” This was carried by 180 to 29 voices ; and the house in all probability for ever relieved from the toil and trouble of similar investigations.

A bill for establishing a local militia of 200,000 men, to be trained for twenty-eight days annually, introduced by lord Castlereagh, passed into a law : and in a committee on the mutiny bill that minister moved that the term of enlistment should be optional either for life or limited service ; which was carried on a division of 189 to 116 members. In the house of peers a proposition from the duke of Gloucester to omit the clause, was negatived without a division.

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Local
Militia es-
tablished.

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Mr. Perceval's plan
of Finance.

On the 11th April, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his project of finance for the year. The war taxes he estimated at 20,000,000 ; and he proposed a loan of 8,000,000, in addition to 4,000,000 already founded of exchequer bills. By a novel and happy idea the holders of three per cent. stock were enabled to transfer the same to the commissioners of the sinking fund, and to receive equivalent annuities for one or two lives ; but the encouragement given by government was not sufficient to make the operation of this excellent plan extensive.

Scottish
Jurisprudence Act.

A bill framed on the basis of that proposed by lord Grenville for the better administration of justice in Scotland, but far inferior in efficacy, passed into a law. By this act, the court of session was divided into two chambers, but the laudable design of an intermediate court of appeal was dropped ; and the trial by jury in civil cases was referred to future consideration and report.

Motion by
Mr. Grattan for the
Relief of
the Catholics.

On the 25th May, Mr. Grattan moved that the house resolve itself into a committee, for the purpose of taking into consideration the petitions of the Roman catholics of Ireland, praying for relief from the existing penalties of the law, now commonly known by the name of " catholic emancipation."

Mr. Grattan reminded the house, "that the catholic religion was that professed by the greater part of Christendom, and in no country did it tend to loosen the bond of allegiance. The absolving and deposing power of the pope is at this day universally disclaimed. In the British empire the catholics form a large proportion of our army and navy. Where, then, is the *danger* of extending to them the civil privileges of the constitution? No; the *danger* lies in affording an opportunity to a foreign enemy to avail himself of your unhappy prejudices; in refusing them the participation which they so earnestly solicit of equal rights; in the eventual alienation of their affections; in the excitement of their resentments. It is contrary to every principle of human nature to suppose that men will be less attached, less devoted to a just than an unjust government. Do not say, that the Irish are a generation perverse beyond all others; and apply this as a salvo to your consciences. The evil arises from that system of oppression, part of which has indeed been repealed, but enough remains for irritation. Kindness will ensure gratitude, and Ireland cannot now be governed by any other means than the constitution."

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Mr. Canning acknowledged "his concurrence

Mr. Can.
ning.

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in these sentiments; but strong reasons existed why this discussion was not now to be wished for. There was a prevailing sentiment against concession to the catholics. It would be of little value to have a majority for the measure within the house, if there was an inflamed majority against it without those walls. What was good in theory, might produce no good practical result. It was not in the power even of a speech so wise and so eloquent as that of the right honourable gentleman, to obtain the victory over the passions and prejudices of men."

An animated debate ensued, in which the lords Milton and H. Petty, Mr. Windham, sir John Hippisley Coxe, &c., spoke in favour of the motion, and lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval, though on different grounds, against it. But the speech which most attracted attention was that of Mr. Ponsonby; who declared himself "*authorized* to assure the house, that the catholics of Ireland were prepared to give such proof of their duty and allegiance to government as could not fail to afford the highest satisfaction, by allowing the crown a *veto* upon the appointment of the catholic prelates." Being called upon to name his authority, he referred to Dr. Milner, a highly respectable catholic clergyman resident at

Mr. Ponsonby.

Winchester; and who was employed as agent for the Irish catholic bishops.

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Though the motion of Mr. Grattan was finally negatived by a great majority, the numbers on the division being 128 only to 281 members, the intelligence imparted by Mr. Ponsonby was evidently so gratifying to the house, as to afford a flattering prospect of ultimate success. On the 27th May a similar motion was made in the upper house by lord Grenville, at the close of an eloquent speech, in the course of which he also adverted to the new security of the *veto*, affirming it to be unquestionably proper that the crown should exercise *an effectual negative* over the appointment of the Irish catholic prelacy. He was ably supported by the lords Moira, Hutchinson, Erskine, &c., and, in a manner which excited much interest, by the bishop of Norwich. The principal opponents of the motion were the lords Sidmouth, Mulgrave, Hawkesbury, &c., aided by the bishops of Bangor and Hereford. The numbers for the question were 74, against it 161; and on the 4th July the parliament was prorogued.

Similar
Motion by
Lord Gren-
ville.

The peremptory declaration of Mr. Ponsonby had been listened to with astonishment by the gentleman to whose authority he had referred, and with anxiety proportionable to the im-

Disclaimer
of Dr. Mil-
ner, Let-
ter, May
29, 1810.

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pression which it appeared to make. In the statement subsequently published by him, Dr. Milner says, “ I never authorized any person to make a proposal on that subject in parliament; nor was I ever led to suppose that such a proposal would be made, till I heard it in the house of commons. Having waited by invitation on Mr. Ponsonby four days before the debate on the catholic question came on, and being asked, in quality of agent to the catholic bishops of Ireland, what concessions they would make to the crown in future nominations to their vacant sees, I answered ‘ that they would never grant to an uncatholic government a positive power in this religious concern, but that I had no doubt of their yielding to it such kind of negative interference as would satisfy it with respect to the loyalty of future candidates.’ I added, however, and repeated with emphasis, that I had no instructions on the subject; and therefore could give no pledge on the part of my constituents. In this conversation the word *veto* did not once occur. The very morning after the debate, I printed a protest against the use which had been made of my name with respect to the proposal in question.”

The utmost that could be fairly collected from the “negative interference” thus hastily

suggested, without previous consideration, or instruction, was that the catholic prelates of Ireland would make a regular notification to government relative to their future nominations, and would respectfully attend to any objections touching the loyalty of the nominees. But what possible occasion could exist for *interference* in any shape? The catholic prelates willingly took the oath of allegiance; nor was it pretended that any disloyal person had ever been promoted to a vacant see: and was it to be supposed that the danger would commence at the precise period when every motive to disaffection ceased? A negative power in the hands of government might, or rather it is a moral certainty that it would, degenerate into intrigue and cabal. “Surely,” says a learned and liberal catholic writer, “it must betray an excess of caution to fear, lest at the present day when the papal power in temporals is annihilated, and when the nature of civil and religious authority is so well understood, catholics of the united kingdom should conspire to lay the liberties of their country at the feet of a foreign prelate.”

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Lingard's
Collections.

In a short space of time the unfounded and erroneous declaration of Mr. Ponsonby diffused such apprehension and alarm among the catholics of Ireland, both clergy and laity,

Declaration of the
Irish Catholic
Prelacy.

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that the Irish catholic prelacy, at a synod held in Dublin September 1808, thought it necessary to resolve “that it was inexpedient to introduce *any* alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of Irish catholic bishops, which long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary. The prelates, nevertheless, pledge themselves to adhere to the rules by which they have hitherto been uniformly guided; namely, to recommend to his holiness, only such persons as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct.” Yet in a letter addressed to lord Southwell by the highly revered catholic primate Dr. O’Reilly, it is allowed, “that in forming their resolution, the prelates did not mean to decide that the admission of a negative on the part of the crown, with the consent of the holy see, would be contrary to the doctrine of the church; but that the concession might eventually be attended with consequences dangerous to the Roman catholic religion.” In a word, supposing it the object of a just and enlightened policy, to give entire satisfaction to the catholics of Ireland, so far as the safety of the state and *the protestant ascendancy*, which is indeed no other than the ascendancy of the state itself, will admit, where is the wisdom

of exacting a condition never before heard of? a condition regarded by the great body of the catholics as offensive and insulting, if not absolutely unlawful; and which could not possibly avail for the purpose of security, if the oaths actually taken by the catholic prelacy of Ireland, were considered by those venerable dignitaries as of no validity.

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At this period, Spain was as much the centre of political interest abroad, as Ireland at home. The flagitious favourite, and minister, Godoy, though the object of universal indignation, retained all his influence over the infatuated monarch, and still more infatuated queen. Subsequent to the external reconciliation of the king and the prince, he seemed to be actuated solely by the fear of falling a victim to the hatred and rage of the people. At length, also, awakened to the aspiring views of the French ruler, whose artifices could no longer deceive, he had formed a project for the removal of the royal family to Seville; whence they might with facility embark for Mexico, the place of their intended destination. To this regifuge, the prince and his friends, as well as the people at large, were utterly averse; and the court being at Aranjuez, about midnight on the 18th March,

Insurrec-
tion at
Aranjuez,

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Appendix
No. VIII.And at
Madrid.Abdication
of the
King.Accession
of Ferdi-
nand VII.

(1808), the eve of departure, a furious insurrection broke out at that place. Soon the populace, being joined by the royal guards, attacked and forced the mansion of the prince of the peace; that detested minister escaping with extreme difficulty. On the next morning, however, he was discovered and put under arrest; but the vengeance of the people was averted by the prince of Asturias, at the earnest request of the king and queen. A decree was immediately issued in the name of the monarch, dismissing Godoy from all his employments.

The popular tumults had by this time extended to the capital; and the houses of divers nobles attached to the court were violently assailed. The king then in consternation, published a second decree on the same memorable day, (March 19,) announcing his abdication of the crown in favour of his son the prince of Asturias; but with the basest hypocrisy, he immediately dispatched a letter to the French emperor, declaring this act to be forced, and imploring his interposition.

The new king, under the name of Ferdinand VII., reckoning his descent from the sovereigns of Castile, on the next day issued an edict confiscating the immense property of the prince of the peace; and nominating the duke

del Infantado president of Castile ; and order seemed in a great measure restored, when general Murat at the head of his troops marched into Madrid, where they were received as friends, and allies. But loud and fierce murmurs arose when they saw Godoy sent out of the kingdom, under the protection of a French escort ; alarming tumults ensued, which were quelled only by military force.

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Napoleon, who was by this time on his journey to Bayonne, dispatched general Savary to Ferdinand, with assurances of his friendship. He also intimated that the emperor proposed in person to visit Madrid ; and Ferdinand was seduced, by the artful representations of the ambassador, to meet Napoleon at Burgos, accompanied by his brother Don Carlos. He set out for that city April 11th, attended by general Savary ; but on his arrival, finding that the emperor was still far distant, he proceeded to Vittoria. From thence, Savary hastened forward for farther instructions, and quickly returned to Ferdinand with an invitation to Bayonne ; which, surrounded as he was by French troops, it seemed as dangerous to decline as to accept ; Napoleon, moreover, assuring him, “ that should the abdication of Charles IV. prove voluntary, he would recognize him as king of Spain.”

Artifices of
Napoleon.

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Confer-
ences at
Bayonne.Exposition
of Cevallos.

At the first, Ferdinand was treated with the forms of civility; but after a short interval, Savary was deputed to demand not only his resignation of the crown, but the transfer of his rights to the imperial house of Bonaparte. Don Cevallos, the chief minister of Ferdinand, and who had accompanied him to Bayonne, in a conference with M. Champagny, represented the impossibility of altering the fundamental laws and succession of the monarchy. He was thereupon dismissed by Napoleon in great anger. On the 30th of April arrived Charles IV. and his Queen, who had been summoned from Madrid; and on the 4th of May, that wretched monarch made the renunciations demanded of him. An extraordinary scene ensued between the father, the mother, and the son, in the presence of the French emperor as umpire; "in which," says Cevallos, "occurred expressions so disgusting, and humiliating, that I dare not to record them." Ferdinand was peremptorily commanded by his father to resign his claim, under pain of being treated as an usurper and conspirator. To this he was at length compelled (May 10), and on signing the instrument presented to him, he was sent under a guard to the interior of France. As the last degree of degradation, the old king by letter informed

the council of Castile, "that he had abdicated all his kingdoms in favour of his friend, and ally, the emperor of the French."

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The first intelligence from Bayonne had excited an extraordinary ferment at Madrid.

Blaquiere's
Spanish
Revolution.

On the 2d of May, the day fixed for the departure of the remaining members of the royal family, the people rushed to arms, and a furious encounter ensued with the French troops under general Murat, now declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom; a man whose talents, professionally great, were ill adapted to such a crisis. The insurgents were not quelled without much difficulty and bloodshed. Many barbarous executions followed; and an order was issued for disarming the citizens. The Infant Don Antonio, uncle to the king, with the queen of Etruria and her son, were then sent to join their relatives in France; and the council of Castile yielded implicit obedience to the dictates of Murat.

Letters
from Spain.

The emperor Napoleon, supposing, after the late ebullition of popular fury, all resistance at an end, in a proclamation issued May 25, admonished the Spaniards in a stile of unexampled arrogance, "to prepare for the new government which he had designed for them. Your nation," said he, "is old; my mission is to restore its youth." A junta, or conven-

Proclamation of Napoleon.

Joseph Bonaparte declared King of Spain.

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tion of *notables*, consisting of about an hundred persons of distinguished rank and talents, was assembled at Bayonne in the month of June, before whom a new constitution for Spain, resembling that already given to Italy, was laid, not for discussion, but acceptance. This ceremony took place on the 7th of July, on which occasion Joseph Bonaparte, late king of Naples, was declared king of Spain, and sitting in royal state upon the throne, the members of the convention took the oath of

Blaquiere's
Spanish
Revolution.

obedience to the sovereign, the constitution, and the laws. Among the ministers of the new monarch were found the names of some of the most virtuous and enlightened men in Spain; Jovellanos, Cabarrus, Cambronero, Urquijo, &c., who saw that the change, however effected, was highly beneficial: and many of the old nobility were appointed to offices in the court of Joseph, who made his public entry into the capital, July 20, 1808. Had the national pride been respected and the Spanish junta held in Madrid, with the recognition

O'Meara's
St. Helena,
II. p. 166.

of Ferdinand, the revolution would have been popular, and every political purpose been attained. Such was the subsequent acknow-

Las Cases,
II. pt. III.
p. 194.

ledgment of Napoleon himself. But no sooner were the ignominious transactions at Bayonne made public, than the spirit of resistance burst

into a sudden flame, pervading the whole mass of the people. All the antient national animosity to France revived; and forgetting recent injuries, the renewal of friendship with England was the universal wish. Provincial conventions were established in every part of Spain; of these the junta of Seville was recognized as the chief; and the national efforts began to be regularly directed and organized. Many of the members of the convention at Bayonne, renouncing their compulsory allegiance to Joseph, joined the patriots; the clergy were unanimous in the same cause; and deputies were sent to the court of London with overtures of peace and amity.

Nothing could be more satisfactory, and even flattering, than their reception; and though no specific resolutions passed relative to Spain in parliament, all parties appeared unanimous in opinion, that effectual aid should be granted; and in the speech delivered by the lords commissioners on the prorogation of parliament (July 4) his Majesty was said "to view with the liveliest interest, the loyal and determined spirit manifested in resisting the violence and perfidy with which their dearest rights have been assailed. The Spanish nation, thus nobly struggling against the tyranny and usurpation of France, can no longer be

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Peace and
Amity re-
stored be-
tween Spain
and Great
Britain.

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considered as the enemy of Great Britain, but is recognized by his Majesty as a natural friend and ally." On the same day a proclamation was issued ordering all hostilities against Spain to cease, and the blockade of the Spanish ports to be raised. The Spanish prisoners also were not only liberated, but clothed and sent back free of ransom to Spain. Arms and money were shortly afterwards transmitted to the Peninsula. Portugal catching the flame, the northern provinces rose in insurrection, and entered into a league offensive and defensive with the kindred nation, which by authority of the two regencies was signed at Oporto, in the name of the respective sovereigns, July 14, 1808.

Military
Operations
in Spain.

General Castanos, who commanded a Spanish army at St. Roque, was one of the first who declared for Ferdinand. At Cadiz the people put to death Don Solano, governor-general of Andalusia, as a traitor who opposed the cause of his country, and general Morla was appointed his successor. A French squadron of five sail of the line, then in the harbour, surrendered (June 4,) to the Spaniards. A strong detachment of French troops, under general Dupont, destined for Seville, had entered Andalusia, and taken possession of Cordova. Here he learned that Cadiz had

declared for Ferdinand, and that general Castanos was advancing in force against him; the passes of the Sierra-Morena in the rear being also occupied by the enemy. Chusing an advantageous position at Baylen, he defended himself for some time with courage; but being at length surrounded and cut off from succour, he signed a capitulation, July 21st, and about 15,000 men were thus, at the very beginning of the contest, made prisoners of war. Marshal Moncey likewise failed in an expedition against Valencia; and in a bloody but indecisive action fought at Rio-Seco near Valladolid, between general Cuesta and the French general Desolles, the latter had little reason to boast of what was stiled a victory.

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1808.

Victory of
Baylen.

Arragon, which by its situation was particularly exposed to the ravages of war, was heroically defended by the natives, under general Palafox, against the attempts of Marshal Lefebre; who in the month of June invested Saragossa, a city unprotected by regular fortifications, and liable to the most dangerous assaults; so that the streets and squares of this capital became the frequent scene of conflict and slaughter. At length, after trying in vain the effect of a bombardment, the siege was suddenly broken up at the end of two months, the French retreating into Navarre.

Heroic
Defence of
Saragossa.

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French re-
treat from
Madrid.

So universal was the spirit of resistance, and so successful its efforts, that scarcely had king Joseph ascended his tottering throne, before the necessity appeared of his descending from it; and on the 29th of July he hastily evacuated Madrid, carrying with him the regalia and other valuable articles. For the visionary diadem of Spain, he had relinquished the tranquil crown of Naples, sanctioned by the approval and attachment of the people; upon whom as upon those of Lombardy, a comparatively free constitution had been conferred. Italy, indeed, had been long ripe for revolution. The houses of Austria, of Bourbon, and of Savoy, were alike detested, and their expulsion was the subject of universal gratulation. Spain also, which still adored in secret the memory of Padilla, impatiently bore the yoke of despotism; but the proceedings of Napoleon were so base and perfidious, his ambition so unprincipled and undisguised, that from him no boon could be acceptable. Entertaining moreover, at this period, flattering hopes of the young monarch, the first wish, aim, and object of every Spanish patriot was, to exterminate those lawless invaders, who had dared to imagine that Spain might be converted into a vassal kingdom, an appen-

dage to the insolent and usurping empire of France.

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The praises bestowed upon the heroism of the king of Sweden, in the speeches addressed to the parliament from the British throne, still more perhaps than the succours he received from its pity, or its policy, encouraged that frantic monarch, the imbecile imitator of the mighty madman Charles XII., to persist at all hazards in a desperate contest. A convention was signed February 8, (1808,) by which England agreed to advance to her ally, the sum of 1,200,000*l* by monthly instalments. Early in the spring the emperor Alexander, on very slight pretences, declared war against Sweden; and an army of 40,000 Russians penetrated into Finland, as far as Helsingfors. In his declaration (dated Feb. 10,—22, 1808,) the czar imperiously calls upon the king of Sweden to assert the neutrality of the Baltic, violated by Great Britain in the siege of Copenhagen. In return, Gustavus IV. called upon Russia to assert the neutrality of the Baltic, equally violated by France in shutting up its harbours. This retort did not tend to stop the progress of the Russian arms. Manifestoes likewise were published from Denmark and Prussia: and certain dispatches being intercepted, from which it appeared that M.

1808.
War between Rus-
sia and
Sweden.

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Annexa-
tion of
Finland to
Russia.

Alopeus, the Russian ambassador, was engaged in clandestine political intrigues in the Swedish court, he was put under arrest. The emperor Alexander immediately issued a proclamation declaring "that he will henceforth consider the province of Swedish Finland as conquered by his arms; and that he incorporates it for ever with his empire." This annexation of a province even before the conquest of it, *equalled* at least in rapacity and injustice, the most daring acts of the French emperor. By the death of Christian VII., king of Denmark, March 1808, the prince regent succeeded to the crown under the name of Frederic VI.

Capture of
Abo.

The Russian general Buxhoven, being opposed by no adequate force, within a month gained possession of Abo; and the Swedish general Klinckowström with difficulty effected his retreat towards Bothnia. In April the Russians directed all their force by sea and land against the fortress of Sveaborg. The defence of that Gibraltar of the North was so feeble as to induce a suspicion of treachery. The naval force in the harbour was included in the capitulation, under the singular condition of being restored when England shall restore the fleet of Denmark. On the loss of Sveaborg, Gustavus, as if inspired with fresh ardour, pub-

lished a proclamation, exhorting the Swedes to exertion and perseverance. In May an armament consisting of 12,000 men arrived from England at Gottenburg, under sir John Moore. That general forthwith proceeded to Stockholm, to confer with the king, who imparted to him his project of invading Norway, the acquisition of which would compensate for the loss of Finland. The English commander in vain represented that this was not within the scope of his instructions. The king with wild importunity, and destitute of the requisite means of defending his own kingdom, continued to urge it upon him; and, transported with passion on his final refusal, he put the general under arrest. Happily he found the means of escaping in disguise; and rejoining his forces, he returned to England without even landing, or being permitted to land, a man in Sweden.

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1808.
Expedition
to Sweden
under Sir
J. Moore.

An English squadron afterwards, under sir Samuel Hood, appeared in the Baltic, and having joined the Swedish force sailed in quest of the Russian fleet, which declined the combat. But the British ships by superior manœuvring brought the sternmost vessel of the enemy to action. The Russian admiral then bore down; but could not prevent her destruction by the English, as she struck on a

Junction of
the British
and Swed-
ish Fleets.

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1808.

Armistice
between
Russia and
Sweden.

shoal. This was the only direct hostility which occurred during what was called the war between Great Britain and Russia.

The Swedish commander Klinspor, having again adventured to Finland, obtained several advantages over the Russians; though with a very inferior force; but to recover the country was impossible; and an armistice was at length concluded (September 27th, 1808,) by which the Russians were left in possession of that invaluable province. The disinclination of the Swedes to this fatal war, or rather their undisguised abhorrence of it, was such, that the king in a rage, and by way of example, broke 4000 of the royal guards; the officers of which were chiefly the sons of noble families.

Usurpa-
tions of
Napoleon
in Ger-
many and
Italy.

The emperor of France, as if in contempt and defiance of all Europe, ceased not to extend his usurpations. By a decree of the senate, issued January 1808, the fortresses of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, (the eastern suburb of Mentz,) all on the right bank of the Rhine, and Flushing at the mouth of the Scheld, were annexed to the French empire. In May, Napoleon published a decree in the following words — “Whereas the temporal sovereign of Rome has refused to make war against England; and the interest of the two kingdoms of Italy and of Naples ought not to be intercepted by

a hostile power ; and whereas the donation of Charlemagne, *our illustrious predecessor*, of the countries which form the Holy See, was for the good of Christianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion, we therefore decree that the duchies of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, be for ever united to the kingdom of Italy ; to which kingdom all cardinal prelates, &c. natives of these districts are commanded to return by the 5th of June on pain of confiscation of goods."

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This enormous resumption drew from the pope a forcible protest, which, however, did not delay for a moment the occupation of the ecclesiastical estates by the troops of France. This was followed by the annexation of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, to the French empire, under the appellation of the departments of the Taro, the Arno, &c. ; so that the kingdom of Italy was on every side *guarded* by the French empire. The papal protest was, after the lapse of some months, enforced by a sentence of excommunication against the authors and instruments of the act of spoliation. This was productive of new violence. The pope was brought in the summer of 1809, as a captive, to Avignon : a provisional government was established in the ecclesiastical estates ; the inquisition was abolished ; many temporal

Imprison-
ment of
the Pope.

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General
Murat
King of
Naples.

Revolution
in Turkey.

and spiritual abuses were abrogated; and various civil and judicial reforms introduced. Rome itself, wonderfully improved and embellished in the hands of Napoleon, was declared the second city of the empire, and empowered to send seven members to the legislative body: and a deputation arriving from thence to Paris, presented an address of homage, to which he replied in the language of an emperor of the West. The Neapolitan diadem vacated by Joseph Bonaparte was conferred on Murat duke of Berg, who took the title of Joachim I., and his administration was not less popular than that of his predecessor. The succession to the kingdom of Italy was also at this time settled on Eugene Beauharnois, the viceroy, and step-son of Napoleon, whose just, wise, and beneficent government had made him almost adored in Lombardy.

A new revolution took place this summer, in the changeful and barbarous empire of Turkey. Mustapha Bairacter, pacha of Rudshuck, a man who by his capacity and courage had attained to a great ascendancy in the army, determined to introduce the new military regulations so fatal to Selim, in defiance of the janizaries. Attended by a body of armed partizans, he deposed the new ministers of sultan Mustapha; put to death the commandant of

the Dardanelles, and the aga of the janizaries. In fine he caused (July 28) Selim to be again declared emperor; and his troops forced an entrance into the seraglio, in search of the dethroned monarch. Upon this, Mustapha ordered the murdered body of Selim to be exposed; but this bloody deed did not prevent, or protract his own fall; and Mahomed, the younger brother of Mustapha, was immediately proclaimed emperor; Bairacter being raised to the post of grand vizier. During his short career, he attempted many reforms civil and military. But in the month of November, the janizaries, rising in great force, stormed the seraglio, when Bairacter, having first strangled the deposed Mustapha, eluded the vengeance of his enemies by blowing himself up with gunpowder in his own palace. Such are the fruits of despotism! Soon afterwards peace was concluded between Great Britain and the Porte, on the terms of former treaties.

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Deposition
and Death
of Mustapha.

In the month of August this year, arrived in England Louis XVIII. nominal king of France, with the queen and the daughter of the late king, married to the duc d'Angoulême; but he was acknowledged only under the title of the count de Lisle. A liberal provision was, nevertheless, made for himself and his household; and in the beautiful seclusion of Hart-

Arrival of
Louis
XVIII. in
England.

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well, near Aylesbury, he passed almost the only tranquil and peaceful years he had known, much respected for his virtues in private life, for which he was far better qualified than for the government of a great and divided kingdom.

Expedition
to Portugal
under Sir
Arthur
Wellesley.

On the first appearance of insurrection in Portugal, general Loison had been detached with a body of troops to Oporto; but, finding his force wholly inadequate, he drew back, and the regency established themselves in that city. An armament consisting of about 10,000 men under sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already attained to high military reputation, sailed from Cork July 12; and on arriving at Corunna, he was informed by the junta of Gallicia, with whom he consulted, that they were in no need of men, but wanted arms, ammunition, and money: and they recommended to him, to land in the north of Portugal. He therefore proceeded to Oporto, and at length disembarked his troops in Mondego bay, where he was soon reinforced by 6000 men under general Spencer. Directing his march towards Lisbon, he found the enemy, under general Laborde, strongly posted (Aug. 17th) on an eminence near Roleia. The attack was sustained for some time with great gallantry; but overpowered by numbers,

Battle of
Roleia.

the French retreated in good order owing to the British want of cavalry.

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Soon after this engagement, a farther reinforcement of 5000 troops, with ample stores, landed in Mondego bay; so that, could the English depend on the co-operation of the natives, general Junot might be considered as in a critical situation. His force, however, consisted of 24,000 veteran troops; he was in possession of the capital, protected by the strong lines of Torres Vedras; and from the southern provinces he could obtain the necessary supplies; if the war in Portugal drew into length, he would doubtless receive aid from Spain.

On the approach of the English army, the French general assembled his forces, and not waiting to be attacked, he, on the 21st of August, marched out of his lines in order to assail the allies, who had taken a position near Vimeira; a village situated in a valley through which ran the small river Maceira. To the north were high grounds, the western point touching the Atlantic; and the great road to Oporto passed through a ravine dividing the heights towards the East. At eight in the morning the enemy appeared moving in several columns; their chief force being directed to the left. "Here a most desperate contest

Victory of
Vimeira.

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ensued; and the French were at length driven back in confusion with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. The column which bore down on the centre with the usual impetuosity of French troops, were received with the utmost steadiness by general Ferguson's brigade; who charging in their turn, six pieces of cannon were taken, 'and *vast numbers* were killed and wounded.' On the right also towards the sea, the enemy were not only repulsed at the point of the bayonet, but in their retreat were taken in flank by an advance in column. In this action," says sir Arthur Wellesley, "in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed under the command of the duke of Abrantes in person; in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, he has sustained a *signal defeat*; losing thirteen pieces of cannon with stores of all descriptions."

Such is the substance of the letter addressed by that officer to sir H. Burrard, his superior in command, who, having joined the army on the morning of the attack, would not interfere in the dispositions already made. But this account, penned in the moment of victory, was calculated to convey to the British public the idea of a defeat *so signal* as to ensure the total

surrender, or destruction, of the army of Junot ; and the rejoicings upon this occasion were unbounded. For the letter omitted to state the material fact, that the French army had formed anew at a short distance from the field, and had made an excellent retreat to Lisbon ; resuming their former unassailable position with the loss of about 2000 men.

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On the 22d of August, the day succeeding the battle, arrived sir Hew Dalrymple, governor of Gibraltar, who was senior to sir H. Burrard ; so that in three days the army might boast the advantage of being placed under three successive commanders. Shortly after this third general had reached the camp, a flag of truce came from marshal Junot, proposing a convention for the evacuation of Portugal. This was the overture of a defeated, indeed, but not of a vanquished enemy : and on the 30th of August was signed the famous convention of Cintra, of which the chief articles were, that the French troops in Portugal with their arms, but leaving their magazines, stores, and armed vessels on the Tagus, should, at the expense of the British government, be disembarked at any port between Rochefort and L'Orient inclusively, with liberty to dispose of their private property ; that the Spanish prisoners, amounting to 4000 men, should

Convention
of Cintra.

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be released, the British commander engaging to obtain the restoration of all French subjects in Spain not taken in battle. A separate convention was concluded by sir Charles Cotton, the naval commander, with the Russian admiral Seniavin, then lying in the harbour of Lisbon, importing that the Russian squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line, should be surrendered as a deposit, till six months after the conclusion of a peace; the officers and men to be conveyed to Russia free from all restraint.

During the armistice, 10,000 additional troops, under sir John Moore, arrived off the coast, but sir Hew Dalrymple “did not think himself justified on that account in breaking off the negotiation, his opinion, as he stated, of the expediency of the convention, being founded on the great importance of time at this season of the year, and which the enemy could easily have consumed in the defence of the strong places they occupied.” No sooner, however, was this convention known in England, than an almost universal clamour was raised against it. Numerous addresses were presented to the throne, expressive of astonishment and indignation, and praying for strict investigation. The city of London in particular urged his Majesty, “in justice to

Addresses
condemna-
tory of the
Conven-
tion.

the outraged feelings of a brave, injured, and indignant people, immediately to institute such an enquiry into this dishonourable and unprecedented transaction, as would lead to the discovery and *punishment* of those by whose misconduct and incapacity the cause of the country and its allies had been so shamefully sacrificed."

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His Majesty, in a tone of merited reprehension, expressed "his disapprobation of pronouncing judgment without previous investigation, and his surprise that the city of London should not have been convinced by recent occurrences, of his readiness at all times to institute enquiry on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of his arms was concerned." In conclusion, a court of enquiry was convened on the 18th of November, of which general sir David Dundas was president. The other members were the lords Heathfield, Moira, and Pembroke; generals Craig, Nugent, and Nichols. Sir Arthur Wellesley, when called upon in court, fairly avowed his entire approval of the principle of the convention; though he differed in some particulars. The defence of sir Hew Dalrymple was manly, and spirited; and the report made to the king terminated in the unanimous judgment of the board, "that no fur-

Court of
Enquiry.

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Decision in
favour of
the Con-
vention.

ther military proceeding was necessary; and that the conduct both of officers and soldiers had reflected lustre on his Majesty's arms."

As some variation of opinion, nevertheless, among the members of the court, was intimated as to certain points, the duke of York, as commander-in-chief, required that of each member separately. This was a task of much difficulty and delicacy. The president, with lord Heathfield, generals Craig and Nugent, approved unequivocally both of the armistice and convention. General Nichols and lord Pembroke, without condemning the principle of the convention, thought sir Hew Dalrymple entitled to insist upon more favourable terms. The earl of Moira alone assigned his reasons in detail for rejecting the overture of Junot altogether. His majesty, in confirming the opinion of the board, pointedly expressed, and not without strong grounds of objection, his dissatisfaction at the civil articles of the convention. The most remarkable circumstance which transpired in evidence, was the restraint imposed upon sir Arthur Wellesley by the peremptory orders of sir H. Burrard, relative to the pursuit of the retiring enemy; who were allowed to repass the Tagus unmolested. As this fact had been discreetly suppressed in the public dispatch,

the victory of Vimëira was regarded as total and decisive. Subsequent explanations were little attended to ; and the convention of Cintra remained as much the subject of popular obloquy, as if a kingdom had been lost, instead of being gained by it.

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The flower of the Spanish regular troops, insidiously led into distant regions to fight under the banners of Napoleon, on receiving intelligence of the patriotic efforts of their countrymen, embraced with enthusiasm the national cause, and rose in arms against their French comrades. The greater part of them were at this time quartered in the Danish isles of Zealand and Funen, by way of security. Those in Zealand were surrounded by a superior force, and disarmed ; but those in Funen, commanded by the marquis de Romana, took possession of Nyburg, whence, aided by the English naval force, they were conveyed to Langeland, and at length joined by the refugees from Zealand, found their way back to Spain at the end of September, to the amount of 10,000 men.

Revolt of
the Spanish
troops in
Zealand.

Subsequent to the recovery of Madrid, it was resolved to elect a supreme or central junta, chosen from the provincial juntas ; and this assembly was publicly installed at Aranjuez September 25th ; the first president being

Supreme
Junta
appointed.

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Military
operations
in Spain.

the venerable count Florida Blanca, formerly prime minister of Spain. Its authority was acknowledged by the council of Castile; yet it was far from possessing the weight of the cortes, by whom alone an efficient regency could be established, or the antient liberty of Spain be restored on a constitutional basis.

The national force, arranged under three grand divisions, was entrusted to the generals Castanos, Blake, and Palafox; the first commanding the centre, the two latter the northern and eastern armies. The French under marshal Ney, to the number of 50,000 men, retiring upon Navarre, occupied a position behind the Ebro, extending to Biscay; and in the repeated attempts of general Blake to turn the right of the enemy, Bilboa was three times lost and won. Sir David Baird, who arrived in October at Corunna, 300 miles distant from Lisbon, with reinforcements amounting to 10,000 men, was refused permission to disembark without the consent of the supreme junta, which, however, was after the lapse of fourteen days obtained, and the whole of the British force now in the peninsula under the command, from the beginning of October, of sir John Moore, could scarcely fall short of 40,000 troops excellently disciplined and appointed, and impatient for action.

V On the return of Bonaparte to Paris from Bayonne, after a residence in that place of some months, he assembled the senate, September 5th, to whom he openly declared "that the government of Spain must be changed in order that she may join all her powers with France against the common enemy." "If the English," said the minister Champagny in his report, "meet with a decisive check in that country, their means and hopes will be annihilated, and peace must speedily ensue." The recent military preparations of Austria are also adverted to in the same report, "as extraordinary, and disproportionate to her finances." To the soldiery it is said, "that the pillars of Hercules must witness their conquering and avenging powers."

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Projects of
Napoleon.

Having arranged his plans respecting Spain, Napoleon quitted Paris for Germany, in order to confer with the emperor Alexander at Erfurt. From this place he addressed (October 14) a letter of admonition and warning to the emperor Francis. "There is," said he, "at Vienna a faction which affects fear in order to precipitate your cabinet into violent measures, which would be the origin of calamities greater than those which have gone before." On the 21st October, a Russian officer, attended by a French messenger, arrived in England with

Pacific
Overture
from Er-
furt.

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proposals from the two emperors to enter into a negotiation for a general peace, either on the basis of *uti possidetis*, or any other, consistent with justice, honour, and equality. The king in reply professed “his readiness to enter into such negotiation, but declared his engagement with Spain to be sacred.” The rejoinder from Napoleon demonstrated that all negotiation was superfluous; the recognition of Spain as a party to the proposed congress, being absolutely rejected. The answer of Russia was in accordance with that of France.

Declara-
tion of
Great Bri-
tain.

The union with the emperor Alexander removed all apprehension from the mind of Napoleon respecting Austria; and having also, at the intercession of that monarch, modified his pecuniary extortions from Prussia, he returned to Paris sanguine in his expectation “to crown his brother at Madrid, and plant his eagles on the ramparts of Lisbon.” In the declaration published on this occasion by the court of London it is stated, “that neither the honour of his Majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit of his consenting to commence a negotiation by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just, his Majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain.” This was indeed a motive for con-

tinuing the war, far different from that of adding Dalmatia to the empire of Russia.

Early in November, Napoleon arrived at Vittoria, the head-quarters of king Joseph, with his first division of troops. The earliest operations were directed against the army of Blake, which after sustaining a series of attacks from far superior numbers, retreated in a shattered condition upon St. Andero. Another strong body of the enemy, under the dukes of Istria and Dalmatia (Bessieres and Soult), commanding the cavalry and infantry, carried Burgos by assault. From that city the French emperor suddenly directed his efforts against general Castanos; who occupied a position extending from Terrazona to Tudela in Navarre, where on the 23d November, he was assailed by a superior force, led by the dukes of Montebello and Cornegliano (Lasnes and Moncey). The field of battle was in part commanded by heights, of which the French took possession; and on forcing the post of Tudela with the view of taking the Spaniards in the rear, they gave way in great disorder, leaving near 5000 men dead or wounded on the spot, exclusive of some thousand prisoners.

These continued successes enabled the French to advance towards the important pass of Somo-Sierra, a chain of lofty hills to the

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Successes
of Napo-
leon in
Spain.

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Tudela.

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North of the capital. Preparations were at length made for the defence of Madrid; entrenchments thrown up, and the streets barricaded. But a furious attack being made by the duke of Belluno (Victor) on the Somo-Sierra pass, it was forced by the enemy; and on the 2d December, the duke of Istria appeared in view of Madrid, and summoned the city. The supreme junta had already retired to Talavera, and the summons was rejected. But the Buen-Retiro being carried by assault, a suspension of hostilities was proposed. Napoleon, however, insisted upon an unconditional surrender. This was submitted to, though not without strong suspicion of treachery; and in the morning of the 5th December, the French army, headed by the emperor, entered Madrid. Great magazines were found in that capital, chiefly sent from England, so unexpected was this disastrous event.

State of
Portugal.

During these transactions sir John Moore was making every exertion to advance with the army from Lisbon toward the scene of action. It was, however, deemed necessary to leave 10,000 British troops in Portugal, to repress the apparent tendency to disorder, originating from the very arbitrary and imperious mode in which the civil and military power of Britain had been exercised. The

Moore's
Narrative,
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commander of the Portuguese troops, Don Bernardin Freire, had entered a formal protest against the convention of Cintra, as containing stipulations injurious and hostile to the independence of Portugal, in requiring the fortresses of the country to be delivered up to the English, without any qualification; and in laying restraints on the civil authority of the Portuguese government. The regency nominated by the prince of Portugal, and which had been dissolved on the possession of Lisbon by the French, sir Hew Dalrymple had taken upon him to restore, with such alterations as he thought expedient; and in a proclamation from general Hope at Lisbon, September 16th, that officer issued his orders "for establishing military guards, for the purpose of taking into custody disturbers of the public peace, &c." as if Lisbon had been a conquered and garrisoned town; and that the Portuguese had only changed masters.

The Spaniards appeared little less jealous than Portugal of their high allies. More than two irreparable months elapsed after the convention of Cintra, before sir John Moore could pass the Portuguese frontier into Spain; and even then that commander was left in total ignorance of the plans, if any such existed, of the Spanish generals. The British troops en-

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March of
Sir John
Moore into
Spain.
ib. p. 31.

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tered Spain in different columns, Salamanca being the place of rendezvous. During his whole line of march, sir John Moore found so little appearance of accommodation, that he plainly declared “if the Spanish government expected his army to advance, they must pay more attention to its wants.” On the 13th November, the English commander arrived with the van of the army at Salamanca. He was there informed of the alarming progress of the French, and the capture of Burgos; and shortly after of the seizure of Valladolid by a body of cavalry. On the 19th, general Baird, with his division from Galicia, arrived at Astorga; whence, hearing of the recent disasters, he wrote to the commander, stating “the opinion of himself and his officers, that he ought not to advance previous to the junction of all his detachments.”

Embarrassments of the English Commander. Narrative, &c. p. 110.

On the intelligence of the catastrophe of Tudela, sir John Moore determined on retreat, and sent orders to general Baird to retire upon Corunna, and thence sail to the Tagus. At this juncture arrived a dispatch from general Morla, governor of Madrid, a man of deep and sinister designs, in the name of the supreme junta, affirming “that Castanos was falling back with 25,000 men on Madrid; that 10,000 were marching thither from Somo-Sierra, and that 40,000 would join them; and urging the

British commander to unite with these forces." This insidious letter was written three days only previous to the surrender of Madrid! What excited still greater astonishment was the dispatch which followed from the British resident Mr. Frere, dated December 3d, from Talavera de la Reyna, whither he had fled with the central junta from Madrid. It was delivered by a French emigrant of very doubtful fidelity, calling himself colonel Charmilly, who had left Madrid December 1st, immediately after having seen, as he said, the duke del Infantado, who expressed an earnest desire that the English commander would march to the relief of Madrid. Mr. Frere, instead of a clear and exact statement of facts upon which the general might have formed his own judgment, says in the language of singular temerity, "I cannot forbear representing to you in the strongest manner the propriety, not to say the necessity of supporting the determination of the Spanish people by all the means which have been entrusted to you for that purpose. I have no hesitation in taking upon *myself* any degree of responsibility which may attach itself to this advice." Nor did his presumption stop here; for in case of non-compliance, Charmilly was charged with a second letter to sir John Moore, "requesting that this

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officer might be examined before a council of war." The British commander is said indignantly to have torn the paper; yet on reflection found himself in a most perplexing dilemma. If contrary to his better judgment he prosecuted his march, he would probably be surrounded and overwhelmed by numbers; if he retreated, what censure, what calumny, might not be expected from those who would then give credit to the wild reveries of Frere, to whose representations the general was expressly directed "to pay the utmost deference."

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Appendix
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Nothing could be so adverse to the feelings of this gallant commander, as to incur the imputation of timidity: being soon after joined by the division under general Hope, therefore, he trusting to fortune, transmitted orders to sir David Baird to return to Astorga.

Disastrous
Retreat
of the
Army to
Corunna.

This was joyful news to the army, wearied with suspense, and dispirited by inaction, often worse than defeat: and on the 20th December, general Baird reached Salamanca. A communication also was opened with Romana, who had taken a position near Leon. The first object in contemplation was an attack on marshal Soult, then posted at Saldanha with 18,000 men; and the advanced guards of the two armies had begun to skirmish, and in an action of cavalry at Sahagun gained a consi-

derable advantage, when intelligence arrived from Romana, that Napoleon in person had left Madrid in force, with the view of gaining the rear of the British, and that Soult had received large reinforcements. No alternative now remained ; and to the inexpressible mortification of the army, orders were forthwith issued for a general retreat, which was by this time become a matter of extreme difficulty and danger. From Astorga to Corunna, a route of near 250 miles through a mountainous and desolate country, rendered almost impassable by snow and rain, harassed by a vigilant and persevering enemy, the troops suffered the utmost extremity of calamity which could result from cold, hunger, fatigue, and every species of privation ; inducing, in defiance of the utmost efforts of the commander, a total relaxation of discipline. The loss was enormous. Almost all the army equipage, clothing, ammunition, was destroyed. Even a large portion of the military chest, to the amount of 120,000 dollars, was thrown from a precipice that it might not become a prize to the enemy ; and not a single piece of artillery, standard, or military trophy was gained by them. In the partial actions which occurred, the English cavalry under lord Paget, particularly distinguished themselves. Sir

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Ormsby's
Letters.
Moore's
Narrative,
p. 311.

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Battle of
Corunna.

John Moore offered battle to marshal Soult at Lugo, but the French general with good reason declined what his adversary thus desired. On the 12th January 1809, the army in a most distressed and reduced state reached Corunna; but agreeably to the first arrangement, the transports had been sent to Vigo; and the French soon appeared in force. On the evening of the 14th, however, the fleet was descried, and preparations made to embark. About noon on the 16th, the enemy descended from the heights in four columns. A warm engagement commenced, and the commander was in the act of bringing up the guards in person, where the fire was most destructive, when a cannon-ball striking him with mortal effect on his left shoulder, he fell from his horse, and was carried off the field. General Baird being also wounded, though less dangerously, the command devolved on sir John Hope; under whom the troops continued to fight with the greatest valour, till at night-fall the French retreated with the loss of 2000 men, and offered no farther molestation.

Nothing could be more honourable than a victory obtained under such circumstances; a victory which shed a parting ray of glory over the military career of sir John Moore, who in dying accents expressed a hope “ that

his country would do him justice ;” and Britain will assuredly in the centuries to come assign him an high rank in the illustrious band of her heroes and patriots. “ On the excellent qualities of sir John Moore,” says general Hope, “ I need not expatiate. Every one loved or respected his manly character ; his last moments were cheered by the acclamation of victory, and his memory, like that of Wolfe, will for ever remain sacred.”

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On the question how such disasters could occur to an army so well prepared for service, under so accomplished a commander, the answer is but too obvious. The policy of the English government in Portugal, after the convention of Cintra, was the reverse of conciliatory ; and the season of action was suffered nearly to elapse before it was deemed expedient for the British army, unattended by a single Portuguese regiment, to leave that kingdom. In the first instructions from lord Castlereagh, dated September 25, it is *recommended* to sir John Moore “ to take the necessary measures for opening a communication with the Spanish authorities for the purpose of *framing the plan* of the campaign.” “ I have pushed into Spain,” says the commander himself, “ at all hazards. This was the order of my government, and it was the will of the people of England.” On

Causes of
Failure.

Narrative,
Appendix,
p. 7.

Letter to
Lord W.
Bentinck,
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Appendix,
p. 30. 131

the other hand, the Spanish government, confident in their own strength, and jealous of foreign aid, made no exertions to facilitate its progress till all hope of successful co-operation had vanished. "Had I followed my own opinion as a military man," says sir John Moore, in his last dispatch from Corunna to lord Castlereagh, under whose inauspicious instructions he had acted, "I should have retired with the army from Salamanca. The Spanish armies were then beaten; there was no Spanish force to which we could unite; and I was satisfied that no efforts would be made to aid us. I was sensible, however, that had the British been withdrawn, the loss of the cause would have been imputed to their retreat." This he had indeed good reason to infer from the general tone of Mr. Frere's letters, which were such as were never before hazarded by a diplomatic agent wholly ignorant of military affairs, to an experienced general of great and acknowledged talents.

1809.
Session of
Parliament.

The parliament was convened January 19, 1809; and the session was opened, as usual, by commission. The speech adverted to the late overture from Erfurt; in relation to which, his Majesty was persuaded that the two houses would participate in the feelings expressed in his declaration. He informed them that his

engagements with Spain were reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance. The peculiar claim of the king of Sweden to his Majesty's support was insisted on; and the most vigorous prosecution of the war earnestly recommended.

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In the debate upon the address in the upper house, the earl of St. Vincent expressed "his amazement at the mode in which the Spanish war had been conducted. Why did not ministers send troops at once to the grand scene of action? Why was one division landed at Lisbon, and another at Corunna, afterwards to form a junction? Surely ministers must be totally ignorant of the geography of the country they meant to defend!"

Debate on
the Ad-
dress.
House of
Lords.

The earl of Moira also condemned the whole plan of operations "as radically erroneous. With the force we had sent to the peninsula, the passes of the Pyrenees might have been occupied, and the French troops in Spain cut off from succour. What should we think, were the French to land in Scotland, of an auxiliary aid sent to Cornwall?"

Lord Grenville strongly enforced the same ground of censure. For two important months subsequent to the convention of Cintra, no arrangement had been made for the march of the army into Spain. It would seem as if

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ministers had explored the map to see at what part of the peninsula most remote from the scene of action they could land the troops." The same argument was urged by Mr. Ponsonby and other distinguished members of the lower house.

In reply lord Castlereagh was bold to say, "that there never was a fallacy more absurd than the idea of occupying the passes of the Pyrenees. The melancholy experience of general Blake's army *proved* what would have been the fate of the British if sent to that quarter! As to the want of cavalry at Vimeira, it was not *at first* supposed that cavalry was a proper description of force to be sent on these floating expeditions. Sir John Moore, however, was accompanied by a body of cavalry; and had these arrived in time to join the army at Vimeira, the result of the victory might perhaps have been still more decisive." The address in this, as in the upper house, passed without a division.

On the communication of the correspondence relative to the overture from Erfurt, all agreed that to abandon the cause of Spain under the present circumstances, would be equally degrading to the character and interests of the country; and the addresses were carried without amendment or division.

A large proportion of the present session was occupied in a very extraordinary investigation. So early as the 27th of January, colonel Wardle, an officer of militia, asserted the existence of a system of abuse in the military department, in which the commander-in-chief was deeply implicated; that an *intriguante* who during several years had been *in favour*, and was now *out of favour* with the duke of York, had carried on a traffic in commissions, not only with the knowledge, but participation of the duke; and he concluded with moving for a committee of enquiry.

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1809.

Charge
against the
Duke of
York.

Instead, however, of adopting this decorous mode of procedure, the chancellor of the exchequer, to the surprise and regret of the more considerate members, proposed by way of amendment, and it was accordingly carried, that the enquiry should take place in a committee of the whole house. This gave rise to the most improper scenes ever witnessed in that assembly. The daring evidence of the female in question, Mary Ann Clarke by name, was corroborated from various quarters, and fully proved the fact of her own prefligate traffic, yet it was remarkable that in no instance was it alledged that promotion had been bestowed on the undeserving, or that any pecuniary consideration had been received by

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the duke; who on the 23d of February, addressed a letter to the speaker, in which he not only denied all personal participation, but the *slightest knowledge* of these abuses! “But,” added his royal highness, “if upon such evidence as has been adduced against me, the house of commons can think my innocence questionable, I claim of their justice that I shall not be condemned without trial; nor be deprived of the benefit and protection which is afforded to every British subject, by those sanctions under which alone evidence is received in the ordinary administration of the law.”

It now became necessary to put an end to the present anomalous proceedings, or to frame regular articles of impeachment. With a view to the first alternative, Mr. Perceval on the 17th of March moved a resolution, “that the house having examined the evidence, and having found that personal corruption and connivance at corruption, had been imputed to the duke of York, were of opinion that the imputation was wholly unfounded.” This was carried by 278 to 196 voices. But though the general conduct of the duke as commander-in-chief was not denied to be highly meritorious, the current of national opinion was so adverse, and the public indignation at the

discoveries which had transpired, so vehement and so plainly indicated in the numerous addresses presented to colonel Wardle, that his royal highness found it expedient to resign his high office, which was bestowed upon sir David Dundas. On the notice of this resignation, a final resolve passed, “ that the house did not think it necessary to proceed farther on the minutes of evidence taken before the committee.” This was carried by a great majority.

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Resignation of the
Duke of
York.

During this ferment of the public mind, a charge of corruption, though of a very different complexion, had been brought against lord Castlereagh. While that nobleman presided at the India board, he had been complimented by the company with the disposal of *a writership*. Desirous of a seat in parliament for a friend, he was recommended to one Reding, “ a trafficking broker,” who pretended to be able to obtain one as an equivalent for the writership. With this man and for this purpose, lord Castlereagh most imprudently assented to an interview. But the writership, estimated by *good judges* at 3000 guineas, being a certainty, and the seat in reversion a great uncertainty, the treaty broke off. Though trafficking for seats in parliament was a practice of common occurrence, it was confessedly un-

Charge
against
Lord Cas-
tlereagh.

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constitutional; and the requisite attention to decorum would not permit any individual occupying a high and responsible office to be personally concerned in any such transaction.

Lord Castlereagh disclaimed indeed in his defence, or rather apology, “being actuated by any corrupt motive, or the exertion of any official influence, though much regretting that he had been inadvertently led to converse on such a subject with such a man as Reding; and if the house deemed the action, or rather the intention, which was all that the accusation amounted to, unparliamentary, he should bow to any censure which he might be thought to deserve.”

A resolution of censure was accordingly moved by lord Archibald Hamilton, April 25th, giving rise to a long debate. But this being an inchoate offence, and attended with palliating circumstances, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day; in voting for which Mr. secretary Canning remarked, “that he would by no means be thought thereby to pronounce the case submitted to them not of very serious importance.” The opinion having apparently more weight than the vote, the order of the day was negatived: and Mr. Canning himself then moved, “that the house, on considering the

whole of the case, saw no necessity for a criminalizing resolution," which passed by a majority of 214 to 167 voices.

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Soon after this, Mr. Curwen obtained leave to bring in a bill for securing the independence and purity of parliament, by preventing the obtaining seats by improper means, and also to extend the laws against bribery. In the progress of this bill, the speaker made an animated appeal to the house in its favour. "The question," said this distinguished personage, "is no less than this: 'whether seats in this house shall be henceforth publicly saleable?' a *proposition* at the sound of which our ancestors would have startled with indignation: but a *practice* which in these days, and within these walls, in utter oblivion of every former maxim and feeling of parliament, has been avowed and justified. If we forbear to reprobate this traffic, we give it legality and sanction. That it is a parliamentary offence, every page of our history, our statutes, and journals bears evidence." But while the system is such as to hold out irresistible temptation, positive penalties can have no beneficial influence, and evasions will still be discovered. The bill after various modifications, passed by a small majority.

Bill against
Bribery.

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Convention
of Cintra
discussed.

On the 21st of February, lord H. Petty, at the close of an eloquent speech, moved as a resolution of the house “that the convention of Cintra had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the public.” These were the precise words which had been used from the throne at the opening of the session: and could not therefore admit of contradiction from ministers. But lord Castlereagh moved the previous question, upon the plea that the discussion was wholly unnecessary. Sir Arthur Wellesley observed “that for the propriety of the expedition, ministers were responsible; and the generals only for its execution. On his arrival at Corunna, he was told by the junta of Gallicia, that the greatest service he could render, would be to expel the French from Portugal. And had the plan of operations which he had taken the liberty of recommending to sir Harry Burrard been followed, he was persuaded that the expedition to Portugal would *not* have disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation. If the enemy had been pursued after the action of the 21st, they could not have effected their retreat beyond the Tagus. In that action, the enemy were completely beaten, and retired in confusion; yet the court of enquiry seemed to have sanctioned the resolution, not to pursue

a flying enemy. Having been permitted to recross the Tagus, much time and blood must have been wasted by following them into Alentejo; and if it were not disgraceful to allow the French to evacuate Egypt, in what was the convention of Cintra censurable? Though he had differed from his superior officers, whose confidence he could not boast, he had done all in his power to render their plans successful." The previous question was finally carried by 203 to 152 voices.

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This served as an introduction to a motion of enquiry into the conduct of the war in Spain, by Mr. Ponsonby. "All I ask," said this able speaker, "is that this house should institute an investigation into the *causes* which led ministers so to dispose of the British force, as to leave a doubtful impression on the public mind, whether the fortunes of Spain can ever be retrieved. He wished to know, why there had been on our side so much delay, while so much celerity and vigour had been apparent in the military movements of the enemy. Sir John Moore did not commence his march to Spain till the month of October; nor did ministers even know whether the Spanish government would accept of our assistance; and sir David Baird had been detained fourteen days at Corunna, before he was allowed to

Motion of
Enquiry
into the
War in
Spain.

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disembark. None but a military man was equal to the situation of Mr. Frere, who had, according to report, urged sir John Moore to advance with assurances utterly unfounded, of powerful co-operation. There was a secret something which paralyzed our efforts; and it was just and necessary for the public to know, why a contest entered into with the heart and hope of all, and commencing with the brightest prospects, had thus set in darkness."

Lord Castlereagh confessed "that the events of the last campaign had indeed been melancholy; but denied that any blame was imputable to ministers. For was it a subject of blame, that the power to whom England came as an ally, could not hold out till the arrival of her assistance? If the contrary were the subject of rational hope, government stood justified. Should the house go into a committee, they would not be able to emerge from it for three months to come. He entreated, therefore, that they would wait with patience for the information that government was anxious to lay before them, and upon that information form their decision." A negative was finally put upon the motion by 220 to 127 voices.

Motion by
Earl Grey
on the
Spanish
War.

On the 21st of April, lord Howick, who on the recent decease of his father had attained to

the title of earl Grey, moved the house of lords to address the King on nearly the same grounds upon which Mr. Ponsonby had rested his motion of enquiry. After a debate of great length and interest, this was negatived by 145 to 92 peers.

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On the 12th of May the chancellor of the exchequer submitted to the house his statement of ways and means for the year. The loan, which only waited the ratification of the house, amounted to 14,600,000*l.*, to which was added a vote of credit for three millions. This was founded on a message from his Majesty, importing “that the antient relations of good understanding and friendship between Great Britain and Austria had been happily restored.” This intelligence was received with great satisfaction.

Annual
Statement
of Finance.

Near the close of the session, when few besides the members in office remained in town, sir Francis Burdett moved a resolution, “that this house will at an early period of the next session, take into its consideration the state of the representation.” This great question had now been agitated for almost thirty years with a growing conviction of its importance. As the principles of sir Francis Burdett on this subject had been mistaken by some, and purposely misrepresented by others, he

Motion
relative to
Parlia-
mentary
Reform, by
Sir Francis
Burdett.

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embraced this opportunity of explanation. The first article of his plan was, "that freeholders, householders, and others subject to direct taxation to the state, the church, and the poor, should be entitled to vote. The second purported to divide the country into districts, each of which should return a member. The third authorized and directed the votes to be taken in the several parishes. Lastly, parliaments were to be reduced to a constitutional, that is annual duration. Upon this system, seats in parliament would be honourable, not lucrative, the objects of a rational, not of a vain or extravagant ambition. By this plan," said the patriotic mover, "the nation would avoid all the inconveniences, vices, and confusion attending elections; and also of the 112 statutes which have been enacted at different times for correcting these abuses."

The system thus developed, though perhaps extending too far the elective franchise, was widely distant from that of universal suffrage, which Mr. Maddocks, who seconded the motion, "acknowledged to be erroneous and absurd; yet not so absurd as to give the right of returning members to a stone wall, or to a field where a town had once stood. Partial remedies could be of no use where the system

was fundamentally wrong, and he thought the bill lately passed had only made matters worse, by throwing the close boroughs more than ever into the hands of the treasury.

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The chancellor of the exchequer declared “that he saw no reason whatever for entering into the question of reform at all; and therefore could not agree to any such pledge as was now proposed.” Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Western spoke in favour of the motion; but their arguments no one attempted to answer; and the question being called for, the house divided, in favour of the resolution 15; against it 74 members. On the 21st June 1809, the parliament was prorogued.

At the period when the French emperor quitted Erfurt, he thought himself sufficiently secure on the side of Austria, although serious causes of difference had arisen since the peace of Presburg. Soon after the conclusion of that treaty, a demand was made by Napoleon of a free passage through the Austrian territory to the Illyrian provinces from the Venetian Terra Firma. This the emperor Francis was ultimately compelled to allow; though the republic of Venice had, as he pleaded, never possessed that privilege. The seizure of Cattaro by the Russians was still the occasion of dispute; and Braunau was retained as an equiva-

State of
Affairs on
the Conti-
nent.

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lent for that valuable possession. A general peace, however, seemed to the court of Vienna the only means of putting some stop to the successive encroachments of France; and of eventually recovering the ability of resisting her enormous power. The offers of mediation therefore to the court of London, were sincere and cordial. But the successes of Spain in 1808 opened more cheering prospects; and having from the first hesitated, she at length refused the recognition of Joseph. The emperor Francis had also ventured to mediate between Great Britain and Turkey; and no sooner had Napoleon quitted Germany, than the military arrangements of Austria were resumed with such assiduity, as was incompatible with disguise. From Valladolid, therefore, the French emperor wrote to the princes of the Rhenish confederation, directing them to hold their contingents in readiness.

Fourth War
between
France and
Austria.

Soon after the battle of Corunna, Napoleon set out on his return to France. In the month of March (1809) orders were issued for the French armies to cross the Rhine. The Austrian forces were at the same time assembled under the archduke Charles, as commander-in-chief. On the side of Italy, the viceroy, Eugene Beauharnois, collected a numerous army.

Early in April, the Austrians having passed the Inn near Scharding, the king of Bavaria quitted his capital, and retired to Augsburg. On the 18th, Napoleon arrived at Ingoldstadt. The first considerable action took place at Ebensberg, the archduke Louis being there surprized, and his division of troops dispersed or destroyed.

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In the mean time the grand army under the archduke Charles took possession of Ratisbon, making the French garrison prisoners. On the 22d April, the two armies met at Eckmuhl. The contest, which began at two in the afternoon, was long and obstinate; but towards evening the Austrians were driven from their positions in confusion; the darkness alone rescuing them from ruin. The vanquished attempted to take refuge under the walls of Ratisbon, but the city was forced with great slaughter, and the Austrians retreated with precipitation to the left bank of the Danube. Napoleon, following the course of that river, advanced rapidly to Vienna; into which capital, on the 10th May, he once more entered as a conqueror; the emperor Francis having previously retired to Moravia. From Vienna Napoleon issued a decree, “inviting the Hungarians to shake off for ever the yoke of the house of Austria; assuring them that under

Battle of
Eckmuhl.

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the sanction of France, they may preserve their territory inviolate; and either regain their antient liberty, or modify it according to their judgment." But from the auspicious æra of the accession of Maria Theresa, the policy of Austria respecting Hungary had entirely changed; and this exhortation produced no effect.

Napoleon
re-enters
Vienna.

The archduke Charles, having re-assembled his troops, proceeded with forced marches towards Vienna in the hope of saving that capital; but finding it already in possession of the enemy, he moved down the northern bank of the Danube, and took a position between Vienna and Presburg. Meanwhile the French emperor proceeded along the southern bank; purposing to cross the river two leagues below Vienna, the stream being there broken by two islands. Proper bridges being constructed, he fixed his head-quarters on the farther and larger isle called Lobau; thence by a third bridge communicating with the northern bank. Meeting no interruption, he chose a position for his army, the right wing extending to the village of Esling, the left to Asperne. On the 21st May at break of day, the archduke appeared on a rising ground opposite to the enemy, divided only by an extensive plain. The conflict was obstinate and bloody. To-

Battle of
Esling.

wards evening the French had been driven from Asperne, but still retained possession of Esling. During the battle, the archduke had sent fire-ships, which succeeded in destroying the bridges communicating with the southern bank. On the next day the contest was renewed with additional fury. At length the Austrian left, under general Belling, gained the right flank of the enemy, who then retreated towards the Danube, and on the following night re-crossed the river to Lobau. The Austrians fairly acknowledged the loss of near 20,000 men, but they could boast of capturing 8000 prisoners. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was immense; and among the former was marshal Lasnes, duke of Montebello, much regretted, and who had acquired, from his heroism, the appellation of the Orlando of the French army.

In the general apprehension, Napoleon was now reduced to a most perilous situation, shut up with his main force in an island of the Danube; a victorious army facing him on the opposite bank; and the Austrians masters of the navigation of the river; but for many weeks a state of total and surprising inaction ensued.

The inhabitants of the Tyrol, who in courage and loftiness of spirit much resembled the Tyrolese, Insurrection of the

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Swiss and Grisons, had indignantly seen themselves transferred from the government of Austria, which had ever respected their privileges, to the despotic dominion of Bavaria. Scarcely had the archduke Charles commenced the campaign, than the Tyrolese rose in arms under the conduct of their heroic countryman Hofer; who, without having been bred to the profession, displayed wonderful military talents; and though subsequent to the battle of Eckmühl, the duke of Dantzig (marshal Le Febvre), and the Bavarian general Wrede, were sent to reduce the country, and carried on a savage warfare for that purpose, the Tyrolese persevered with unconquerable valour in its defence; and on the recall of Le Febvre, after the affair at Esling, these enraged mountaineers retaliated by destructive inroads into Bavaria.

And of
Northern
Germany.

In the north of Germany, a strong disposition appeared to rise in opposition to Gallic tyranny, had any rallying point existed. An officer late in the Prussian service, colonel Schill, raised the standard of independence at Lunenburg, and was joined by great numbers. But he was opposed, and overpowered, by a far superior force under Jerome Bonaparte; and retiring to Stralsund, sustained a siege in that place, and was killed in the defence of it.

The duke of Brunswick also, whose efforts combined with those of Schill, and supported by Great Britain, might have been attended with great results, took up arms when the cause was hopeless; and after some temporary success, was compelled, towards the close of August, to embark on board a British squadron at the mouth of the Weser.

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In Poland the archduke Ferdinand, being resisted by a very inferior force under prince Poniatowski, nephew to the late king Stanislaus, and whose great qualities made him the object of his country's secret hope and warm attachment, took possession of Warsaw, but was recalled in consequence of the early disasters of the Austrian arms. The Russians then joining the Poles, occupied nearly the whole of the Austro-Polish provinces; but the emperor Alexander shewed no disposition to push the war with vigour.

War in
Poland,

In Italy, where the archduke John commanded, the first operations of the Austrians were also successful; and they captured the cities of Padua and Vicenza. But subsequent to the battle of Eckmühl, he likewise was recalled to the defence of Austria. In his retreat, the archduke was closely followed by the viceroy prince Beauharnois, who gained divers advantages over him: and on the aus-

And in
Italy.

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picious anniversary of the victory of Marengo, the two armies coming to a general engagement near Raab in Hungary, the Austrians were totally defeated; and that great bulwark of the kingdom fell into the hands of the enemy.

Battle of
Wagram.

During the interval of *dread repose* which passed after the battle of Esling, all the demonstrations of the French seemed to be pointed against that position, which was, in the expectation of attack, rendered almost impregnable by redoubts and entrenchments. But on the night of the 4th July, a bridge of vast dimensions was thrown across the river with almost magical expedition and skill, opposite the left wing of the Austrians, stationed at Wagram. Early next morning the whole French army had crossed the river, and appeared in order of battle. Thus surprised and disconcerted, the archduke spent the day in manœuvring and altering his dispositions. On the 6th July at sunrise, the long-looked for contest commenced. In his efforts to outflank the enemy, the archduke dangerously weakened his centre, upon which an assault was made with accumulated force. The Austrians, unable to withstand the shock, gave way, though by slow degrees; retreating finally near a league from the ground they at first

occupied, leaving the wings exposed to an attack from the dukes of Rivoli and Auerstadt, marshals Massena and Davoust, which was done with great effect. The village of Wagram being also forced by the enemy, the Austrians, seeing the fate of the battle decided, fled with precipitation; the pursuit being continued as far as Znaim in Moravia.

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At that place Napoleon received a proposal from the emperor Francis to treat of peace; and an armistice was acceded to, on the surrender of divers fortresses, which was continued from time to time till the month of October, when a definitive treaty was concluded and signed at the palace of Schonbrun, the head-quarters of Napoleon near Vienna, on terms less unfavourable than might be expected from the forlorn and hopeless condition of Austria, whose armies were now dispersed and ruined. To Bavaria, the emperor Francis was obliged to yield the important territory of Saltzburg, with other districts in the vicinity. To France were ceded, Fiume and Trieste, with the entire line of coast connecting the dominions of France on both sides of the Adriatic. In Poland, the king of Saxony obtained, in addition to the provinces constituting the duchy of Warsaw, the western Galicia, with the city of Cracow. Another

Treaty of
Vienna.

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1809.

portion of Austrian Poland was assigned to Russia, which derived advantage from the misfortunes of every other nation : the title of Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain was recognized ; and the Tyrolese were abandoned to their fate. That heroic people still continued an unavailing resistance. At length overwhelmed rather than vanquished, tranquillity, or what was called by that name, was restored ; and the blood-stained triumph of Bavaria was crowned by the barbarous execution of the patriot Hofer.

Military
Operations
in Spain,

On the expulsion of the English from Spain, Joseph Bonaparte re-entered Madrid as sovereign. Saragossa a second time besieged, was a second time defended with great valour ; but, being reduced to extremity, was compelled to surrender, February 1809. Various actions took place during the winter, generally to the disadvantage of the Spaniards ; yet the French, after all their successes, seemed to possess no more of the Spanish territory than their armies actually occupied ; the unconquerable mind remained.

And in
Portugal.

A better understanding had by this time happily taken place between Great Britain and Portugal. General Beresford, invested by the regency with the rank of field-marshal, was most usefully employed in organizing a

native force to act with the British army. The duke of Dalmatia having entered Portugal at Braga, took possession of Oporto March 29th. In order to preserve his communications, that general had left a garrison at Chaves; which fortress was soon afterwards recovered by don Francisco Silveira, an active and gallant officer, who continued to harass and straiten the quarters of the French, when sir Arthur Wellesley once more landed with large reinforcements at Lisbon, April 22d. Immediately repairing to Coimbra, he put himself at the head of his assembled forces, and advanced against Oporto; at the same time detaching marshal Beresford to occupy the fords of the Upper Douro. Soult, finding himself in danger of being insulated, thought it necessary to evacuate Oporto, and to retreat in haste, not without sustaining great loss, into Galicia. Meanwhile marshal Victor, who commanded in Estre-Madura, after defeating the Spanish general Cuesta, at Medellin, had made himself master of Alcantara; upon which the British commander returned to the south; and Victor retired to his former station on the Guadiana. The operations in Galicia and the Asturias, under general Romana, were also favourable; and the French were nearly driven from those provinces.

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Battle of
Talavera.

On the 20th of July, sir A. Wellesley effected his junction with Cuesta at Oropesa. But marshal Victor, aware of his danger, had by this time crossed the Tagus at the famous bridge of Almaraz, that noble monument of Roman magnificence. The allies marched along the banks of the river towards Olalla, the head-quarters of Victor, who had now received large reinforcements from Madrid, led by king Joseph in person. The British commander took an advantageous position near Talavera de la Reyna; general Cuesta's encampment on the right extending to the Tagus. Early in the morning of the 28th, the enemy attacked the British in force, making a demonstration also on the opposite quarter. The battle continued at intervals during the whole day, and ended in the final repulse of the enemy, though with the loss, including about 1000 Spanish troops, of nearly 7000 men killed, wounded, and missing: that of the French was supposed to be still greater. But the marshals Ney, Soult, and Mortier, advancing in great force upon the rear of the allies, it became necessary to retreat, and crossing the Tagus, they continued their route to Badajoz. On the eastern side of the peninsula, general Blake, after a fruitless attempt to recover Saragossa, was attacked and totally routed by the duke of Albufera, marshal Suchet, on the 19th

of June. This disaster was followed by a much greater. For the central army, reported to consist of 50,000 men under the marquis Ariezaga, advancing upon Madrid with the view of passing the Tagus at Aranjuez, was encountered, November 19th, by the French, headed by king Joseph, assisted by the marshals Soult, Mortier, and Victor, at Ocana, near the south bank of that river: and the action terminated in a signal victory on the part of the enemy. The vanquished army retreated in confusion beyond the mountains. In the month of December, the strong and important fortress of Girona, after a long resistance, surrendered to marshal Augereau, stiled duke of Castiglione.

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1809.
Battle of
Ocana.

Notwithstanding the ruinous state of the Swedish armies and finances, and the recent loss of Pomerania and Finland, the king of Sweden, with what his subjects deemed insensate obstinacy, and the English court, "the most honourable firmness," persisted in the war. At length the antient spirit of the Swedes awoke from its slumber. On the morning of the 13th, as the king was preparing to leave Stockholm for his country residence, he was suddenly arrested in his own palace by general Aldercreutz. He drew his sword in rage, but was immediately overpowered; and

Deposition
of Gustavus
IV.

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Succeeded
by Charles
XIII.

Peace con-
cluded with
Russia,

sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Drotning-
holm near the capital. The duke of Suder-
mania immediately issued a proclamation in
quality of administrator, declaring the inca-
pacity and deposition of the king. The diet
assembling in May, an act of abdication signed
by Gustavus IV. was produced ; and a decree
passed that he and his issue, born and not
born, were for ever excluded from the throne
of Sweden. A new constitution was framed,
by which the sacred rights of the nation were
restored ; and the duke of Sudermania with
united heart and voice *elected* king, under the
name of Charles XIII. ; and being without
children, Christian Augustus, a prince of the
house of Holstein, was declared presumptive
heir of the crown. A treaty of peace followed,
September 17th, with Russia, by which the
whole of Finland and that valuable portion of
Bothnia bounded by the Tornea with the isle
of Aland, were ceded to Russia. English
ships, with certain exceptions, were excluded
from the Swedish ports. The deposed mo-
narch was soon after this liberated from im-
prisonment ; and on the wise and generous
recommendation of his successor, an ample
provision was made for his maintenance, on
condition of fixing his residence in Switzer-
land ; which he readily and even gratefully

acceded to; assuming only the title of count Gottorp. An accommodation between Sweden and France took place in December 1809, in consequence of which the former recovered Pomerania, and the isle of Rugen.

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1809.
And
France.

The naval operations of this year were very successful. In the month of January (1809), the French colony of Cayenne in Guiana surrendered to a combined force of English and Portuguese, under commodore Yeo. In February, the important island of Martinique was reduced, after a gallant resistance, by general Prévost and admiral Cochrane. In April, a French squadron of twelve sail of the line besides frigates, lying in Basque roads, was assailed with extraordinary skill and courage by lord Cochrane, acting under the orders of admiral Gambier. A boom thrown across the river Charente being broken, the French ships cut their cables, and ran on shore. Fireships, fitted out for the purpose, were conducted by this young nobleman in person, to destroy those vessels, several of which were consumed or rendered unfit for service. Others, however, escaped; the British armament being recalled by signal from the admiral, much against the judgment of lord Cochrane, who rather expected assistance from his commander than counter-action. This being openly avow-

Naval Successes.

Cayenne and Martinique captured.

Action in Basque Roads.

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ed by that officer on the motion for a vote of thanks in the house of commons, admiral Gambier deemed it necessary to demand a court martial, by whose verdict, after an elaborate investigation of evidence, he was honourably acquitted; but the current of opinion, not altogether unsupported by professional authority, ran strongly in favour of lord Cochrane, whose heroic spirit had been conspicuous on various occasions.

Expedition
against Na-
ples.

Early in June, sir John Stuart, commander in Sicily, undertook as a diversion to the French arms in Italy, an expedition to Naples. The isle of Ischia and the fortress of Procida being reduced, a body of troops destined to Lombardy was recalled; but no symptom of disaffection to the existing government appeared; and after an unsuccessful attempt on the castle of Scylla, the fleet and army returned; and the conquests were not found permanently maintainable.

Capture of
Senegal.

In July the city of Saint Domingo, capital of the Spanish part of the island of that name, submitted to a force from Jamaica; as the French settlement of Senegal did to an armament under major Maxwell.

Expedition
to Walche-
reu.

Preparations had long been making under the auspices of lord Castlereagh, the war minister, for a secret expedition on a grand scale.

The primary object of it proved to be the town of Flushing at the mouth of the Scheld ; and ultimately Antwerp, now converted into an important naval depôt. The land forces were estimated at 40,000 men, and the fleet under sir Richard Strahan, an officer of high reputation, consisted of thirty-five sail of the line, with all the requisite appendages. But what caused universal surprize was the appointment of the earl of Chatham as commander of the land forces ; a nobleman scarcely known to the public as a soldier, and much less as a general. On the 1st of August this mighty armament disembarked on the isle of Walcheren, and invested Flushing ; and on the 15th the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. After this conquest, lord Chatham, fixing his head-quarters at Middleburg, remained in total inactivity.

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Capture of
Flushing.

In the mean time arrived at Antwerp the prince of Ponte-Corvo, (marshal Bernadotte), by whom every precaution was taken for its security, and the ships of war were moved up the river beyond the city. An epidemic fever, incident at this season to the swamps of Walcheren, already began to rage ; and at a council of war, held on the 27th, it was determined that the siege of Antwerp was impracticable ; on the 14th of September lord Chatham re-

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turned to England, leaving the army a prey to the ravages of disease, destitute of the necessary supplies of provision, and even of medicine.

Flushing
evacuated.

The English ministers, nevertheless, tenacious of their conquest, sent a vast number of artificers to Flushing to repair the ruined works of that fortress. No sooner was this effected, than a resolution was taken to evacuate the place: and though the arsenals and magazines were in part destroyed, the land-fortifications were left in a better state than they were found. Exclusive of the thousands who died abroad, great numbers brought back chronical complaints, which rendered the very name of the Walcheren fever terrible. Since the fatal expedition to Carthagera, seventy years before, no event so disastrous had occurred in the British annals.

Ionian Re-
public re-
established.

Early in October an armament, detached from the fleet of lord Collingwood in the Mediterranean, under general Oswald, anchored in the bay of Zante, and a capitulation was forthwith signed, by which that island with Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Corfu, surrendered to the arms of Britain, and the Ionian republic was nominally restored, though Corfu still remained in possession of the French.

A brilliant action took place during the same month on the coast of Catalonia, in the interception of a great convoy with supplies of all kinds for the French armies in Spain, under the escort of seven ships of war. Admiral Martin, meeting the squadron off the port of Cette, entirely dispersed or destroyed the ships of war. The convoy took refuge in the bay of Rosas, under the batteries of the castle. Here they were attacked in boats under the orders of captain Hallowel, and the whole were captured or burnt; not, however, without considerable loss to the victors.

BOOK
XXXIX.1809.
Naval Vic-
tory off
Cette.

The congress which had assembled at Yassi, with the view of effecting a final accommodation between Russia and Turkey, broke up in consequence of the refusal of the Porte to cede the provinces north of the Danube. On the renewal of hostilities the Russians crossed that great boundary, and laid siege to Silistria; but after a sanguinary engagement near that place, they found it expedient to repass the river.

War re-
newed be-
tween Rus-
sia and
Turkey.

In the presidency of the United States of America, Mr. Jefferson, who declined a second re-election, was succeeded by Mr. Maddison. The embargo, which had become distressing from its long continuance, was repealed, and an act substituted prohibiting all intercourse

Unsuccess-
ful Nego-
tiation with
America.

BOOK
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1809.

with France and England; with a proviso, that if either nation rescinded its obnoxious decrees, the prohibition relative to that nation should cease. Mr. Erskine, the English envoy in America, was consequently empowered to promise, that if the American interdiction of July 1807 were withdrawn, the commerce of America with the French colonies should be placed on the same footing as in times of peace; Britain being allowed to capture all vessels trading contrary to this restriction. But Mr. Erskine ventured also, without proper authority, to declare the orders in council rescinded from the 10th of June 1809, on the general engagement "that an envoy extraordinary would be received by the president, with a disposition correspondent to that of his Britannic Majesty."

The British government refusing its ratification to this agreement, the prohibitory laws of America were again enforced; and the language of Mr. Jackson, successor to Mr. Erskine, was so offensive, as to cause a notification from the president, that no farther communications would be received from him; on which he withdrew from Washington to New York.

State of
France.

The legislative body of France met on December 3, (1809), on which occasion the em-

peror Napoleon addressed them in a stile of lofty congratulation. Adverting to the late expedition to Zealand, he asserted "that the English army had terminated its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. — The pope, whose weakness or treachery opposed our progress in Spain, is stripped of his temporal power and territory, and compelled to restore it to the successor of Charlemagne, from whom he received it. By the treaty of Vienna all my allies have acquired fresh increase of territory. The Illyrian provinces stretch the frontiers of my great empire to the Save. Holland, placed between England and France, must undergo some changes in order to cover the safety of the empire, and to promote their mutual interest; and he concluded with the prediction of new triumphs in the peninsula."

BOOK
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1809.

In the annual *exposé*, which immediately followed, the great works carrying on under the auspices of the emperor are particularly enumerated — the canal Napoleon, uniting the Rhine and the Rhone; the immense works at Cherbourg; the magnificent military roads traversing the Alps, the Apennines, and the Pyrenees; the draining of the marshes of Burgundy, &c.: all these were indeed imperial works and worthy of his fame and power.

BOOK
XXXIX.1809.
Marriage of
Napoleon.

It had been for some time understood that a divorce from the empress Josephine was in agitation; not from any personal alienation, but from the hope that a younger bride might give an heir to the vast empire of Charlemagne, revived in the person of "Napoleon the Great." On the 16th December this design was formally announced to the senate; who without hesitation passed a decree authorizing the divorce; which was cheerfully acceded to by Josephine as essential to the public weal. The archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor Francis, was then announced as the future empress. This had been arranged at Vienna during the preceding summer; and the marriage was celebrated at Paris in the ensuing month of March, with much pomp and festivity. This young princess was not only amiable in her person, but possessed every accomplishment that could adorn her exalted station.

Changes in
Adminis-
tration.

Divers changes had recently taken place in the English cabinet, attended with remarkable circumstances. It was perceived that Mr. Canning did not enter very cordially into the defence of lord Castlereagh on the charge relative to the India writership; but it was not then suspected that he had previously applied to the duke of Portland for the removal of

that nobleman, if not from the cabinet, at least from the war department; for which indeed the public voice declared him totally unfit; strongly recommending marquis Wellesley as his successor; and that he had even obtained a promise from the premier to that effect, though not for its immediate execution;—and for several succeeding months the two secretaries acted together with all the forms of friendship. But after the melancholy termination of the Walcheren expedition, Mr. Canning again urging his suit, found that no communication had been made to lord Castlereagh by the duke of Portland, who, on the contrary, signified his own intention to relinquish office from growing infirmity; upon which Mr. Canning immediately gave in his resignation. Lord Castlereagh, being now informed of all the circumstances, so highly resented the offence, as to make an immediate demand of *satisfaction*. A duel accordingly took place September 21st, in the result of which Mr. Canning was severely wounded. This affair, though politically injurious to the administration, did not personally injure lord Castlereagh in the view of the public; Mr. Canning's long concealment, owing indeed to the imbecility of the duke of Portland, and altogether unintentional, being manifestly improper.

BOOK
XXXIX.1809.
Concilia-
tory Over-
ture to the
Whigs.

On the 23d September, Mr. Perceval, upon whom in consequence of the resignation of the premier and the two secretaries, the chief, it may almost be said the sole weight of government now devolved, wrote to earl Grey, and lord Grenville, stating that “his Majesty had authorized the earl of Liverpool (late lord Hawkesbury), and himself, to communicate with their lordships for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration; and requesting their presence in London.” As under the actual circumstances no such overture could have been hazarded without the determination to allow the whigs a decided lead in the combined administration, a very favourable opportunity, as was generally thought, occurred to unite and reconcile the two great opposing parties of the state. Yet this advance was received with coldness bordering on contempt. Lord Grenville indeed repaired to town, in obedience to what he considered as a signification of the King’s pleasure; but in his answer to Mr. Perceval, (September 29th) he absolutely declined the communication proposed, declaring “that it could not be considered in any other light than as a dereliction of public principle.”

Lord Grey, writing from his seat in Northumberland, declared “his attendance in town un-

necessary, unless he had received the King's commands to that effect;" and in terms equally strong with lord Grenville, avowed "a union with the present ministers to be, with respect to himself, impossible; and that the proposed communication could lead to no useful result." Mr. Perceval explained in reply, "that the proposal *was not for the accession of their lordships to the present administration*, but for the formation of a combined and extended one." Here the correspondence ceased; and the present ministers being compelled to act with energy, or resign at discretion, Mr. Perceval accepted the office of first lord of the treasury. Marquis Wellesley, who had superseded Mr. Frere in Spain, was recalled to receive the seals for the foreign department; lord Liverpool succeeded lord Castlereagh as war minister, and Mr. Ryder lord Liverpool in the home department.

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Whatever might be the fluctuation of public opinion respecting ministers, whig or tory, the popularity of the monarch seemed to increase with his increasing years, and the 25th October, on which day he entered the fiftieth year of his reign, was celebrated throughout the kingdom as a national jubilee, with religious thanksgiving, succeeded by extraordinary festivities, illuminations, and all the marks of

Regal
Jubilee.

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public rejoicing, and more effectually by the liberation of insolvent debtors; all parties concurring in the general demonstration of loyal attachment, respect, and reverence for the King's acknowledged virtues.

Session of
Parlia-
ment,
January
1810.

The parliament of the united kingdom was convened, January 23, 1810. Never did the political atmosphere exhibit a deeper gloom. Russia, the only Continental power which could singly cope with France, was in strict alliance with the French emperor. Austria had been once more prostrate at his feet. The resistance of Spain, in the general opinion, had become almost hopeless; and all the other Powers of Christendom seemed in a state of vassalage. Nevertheless, the speech delivered by the lord chancellor in his Majesty's name, expressed "his just confidence, under divine providence, in the wisdom of his parliament, the valour of his forces, and the spirit of his people. His Majesty hoped that material advantages would be found to result from the demolition of the docks and arsenals at Flushing. The expulsion of the French from Portugal, and the glorious victory obtained by lord viscount Wellington at Talavera, had contributed to check the progress of their arms in the peninsula. Assurances had been received of the friendly disposition of America, and his Majesty had much satisfaction in declaring the flourishing

state of the national commerce, and increasing produce of the revenue." BOOK XXXIX.

Amendments to the addresses were moved by lord Grenville in the upper and lord Gower in the lower house, implying severe censures on ministers. Lord Sidmouth and his friends voted with the court, as thinking the amendments too strongly worded, and amounting to condemnation previous to enquiry. This was probably the case with many others; yet in the house of peers the division was 92 to 144; in the commons, 167 to 263.

The speech of Mr. Perceval was particularly modest and conciliatory. In adverting to the overture made by command of the King to the lords Grey and Grenville, he protested that he did not wish for the situation which he then occupied. The circumstances of the times required a strong and extended administration; and he had hoped that the application would have been successful. Had he been at liberty to state his proposals, the *first* would have been to resign the treasury to their disposal." Declaration of Mr. Perceval.

On the 26th, lord Portchester moved for an enquiry relative to the expedition to Walcheren by a committee of the whole house; which was carried against the utmost efforts of the minister, by 195 to 186 voices. Mr. Yorke then moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers. This being enforced from Enquiry into the Walcheren Expedition.

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day to day, Mr. Sheridan moved a revision of the standing order; so that the decision should not rest upon the caprice of any individual member.

This was vehemently opposed by Mr. Windham, who launched into a wild and injurious invective against the reporters of the debates in parliament. He professed indeed to know nothing of them personally, but he understood them to be a set of men who were chargeable with the most corrupt misrepresentations; that among them were to be found persons of all descriptions, bankrupts, lottery-office keepers, decayed tradesmen, and even serving-men. Those gentry had their favourites, and his honourable friend was esteemed and hailed by them as a patron of the London press; but he exhorted the house to maintain their antient rules and orders.

This singular *tirade* was answered with spirit and temper by Mr. Stephens, an eminent civilian, who had himself in his earlier days been a reporter of debates; but the motion of Mr. Sheridan was negatived by a great majority.

An elaborate investigation of evidence on the Walcheren expedition ensued, in the course of which the earl of Chatham underwent a strict examination at the bar of the house. But on

the 19th February, the enquiry was again interrupted by Mr. Yorke, who called the attention of the house to what he stiled a gross violation of their privileges. He referred to a placard posted on the walls of the metropolis, announcing itself as the journal of a club called the British Forum. This placard stated as a question proposed for debate in that society, "Which was a greater outrage upon the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order, or Mr. Windham's attack on the liberty of the press?" A business so trivial being thus seriously noticed, became of real importance. The printer was summoned to the bar; and, on the evidence given by him, John Gale Jones, his employer. Jones acknowledged himself the author of the placard, and threw himself upon the mercy of the house. On the motion of Mr. Yorke, who thought "exemplary punishment necessary," the delinquent was committed to Newgate. This was a step no less unpopular than the imprisonment of Wheble and Thomson near forty years before; and there were still some surviving members, whose old experience, "in something like prophetic strain," might have reminded the house that in such cases moderation was the truest wisdom.

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XXXIX.1810.
Breach of
Privilege.

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On the 12th of March, sir Francis Burdett, after an impassioned speech, in which he ventured wholly to deny the power of the house to commit, moved that John Gale Jones be discharged. Mr. Sheridan said that he should vote for the release of Jones, though not upon the principles contended for in the speech which they had just heard: and he moved an amendment, that Jones should be discharged in consequence of the contrition he had expressed, and the length of his imprisonment. The amendment was rejected without a division, and the original motion negatived by a vast majority of 153 to 14 votes.

Commit-
ment of
Sir Francis
Burdett to
the Tower.

Sir Francis Burdett soon afterwards published, under the sanction of his name, the substance of his argument in a periodical work called Cobbett's Register. Upon this slight ground, Mr. Lethbridge, member for Somerset, once more brought the question before the house, by moving, March 27th, "that this was a scandalous and libellous publication, and that the author was guilty of a violation of the privileges of that house." The resolutions being carried after much debate, a motion followed, April 5th, for the commitment of sir Francis Burdett to the Tower. Mr. Sheridan again interposed, by moving as an amendment, that sir F. B. be reprimanded in his place.

This was unhappily opposed by the minister, and negatived by 190 to 152 voices.

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On the 9th of April, the speaker was compelled to state that sir F. Burdett had denied the legality of the warrant, which was at last executed by force. On the morning of that day, sir Francis Burdett had been conveyed to the tower by the serjeant at arms, attended by a number of police-officers, and a military escort of cavalry and infantry, amidst an immense concourse of people. On the return of the soldiery, a violent tumult had arisen, in which the military, in their own defence, were obliged to fire; and several persons were killed, and wounded. A letter from sir Francis Burdett to the speaker, charging him with trespass and false imprisonment, also came under cognizance of the house; and a resolution passed against it, as a flagrant breach of privilege. Petitions from the electors of Westminster, the city of London, and the freeholders of Middlesex, expressed in daring language, were presented to the house for the liberation of this champion of liberty, which however did not take place till the close of the session, when it was celebrated with public rejoicings. Actions at law were subsequently brought by sir Francis Burdett against the speaker of the house of commons,

Speaker
charged
with false
imprison-
ment.

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the serjeant at arms, and the constable of the Tower, in all of which he of course failed, though the dignity of the commons seemed strangely compromised, by placing the speaker in the situation of a defendant in the court of King's Bench in his official capacity.

Walcheren
Expedition
approved.

This extraordinary business diverted the attention of the public very much from the Walcheren enquiry. A series of resolutions imputing misconduct and censure on ministers was negatived by 275 to 227 voices; and on a final motion of *approval*, the numbers in favour of ministers were 253 to 232. This vote excited great indignation; being universally regarded as the result of a most dangerous and unconstitutional influence.

Statement
of Finance.

The loan required for the present year, was twelve millions, including Ireland, for which a new capital in the three per cents. was created of near seventeen millions; to which was added a vote of credit for three millions, and one million and half was granted as a loan to the East India company, whose debt had been increased during the administration of marquis Wellesley from twelve to thirty millions, and was still increasing. This was opposed in both houses; and a protest was signed by the earl of Lauderdale, denying the legality of declaring any dividend, while the

out-goings of the company so far exceeded their profits.

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A bill for rendering perpetual the temporary act already passed for preventing the grant of offices in reversion, received the sanction of the commons, but was rejected by the Lords.

Reversion
Bill reject-
ed.

On the 18th May, Mr. Grattan moved to refer the petition of the Irish catholics, previously presented by him to the house, to a committee. Since this question had been last agitated in parliament, the general dislike of the petitioners to that authoritative interference of the crown in the appointment of their prelates known by the appellation of the *veto*, had risen to abhorrence. On the 24th February (1810), the Roman catholic prelates assembled in Dublin, had solemnly declared their adherence to the resolution of 14th September 1808. "We know," say they, "no stronger pledge that we can possibly give, than the oath of allegiance — disclaiming, as we do, all right in the pope to interfere in the temporal concerns of the kingdom." And in an address of the same date to the clergy and laity of Ireland, they assert, "that any change at present in their ecclesiastical appointments, innovating on their religious discipline, on the ground of its being perilous to the state — without a single instance of danger incurred, must de-

Motion of
Mr. Grat-
tan on the
Catholic
Question.

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grade the catholic church of Ireland in the opinion of Europe.” Moreover, at a general committee of the catholics of Ireland, April 24, 1810, the following strong resolution passed; “*Resolved*, That we feel it a duty we owe to ourselves, and to our country, solemnly to declare that the catholic laity of Ireland never have directly, or indirectly, authorized any persons to offer through our friends in parliament, or otherwise, the conceding to the crown *any interference whatsoever*, with respect to the appointment of catholic prelates in Ireland.”

Under such unfavourable auspices did Mr. Grattan come forward on the present occasion. The speech of that celebrated patriot comprehended many interesting and important truths, delivered in his accustomed striking and characteristic language. “Let England,” said he, “act justly by Ireland, and she will see Ireland act fairly and loyally by her. Parliament had no right to punish on account of religious differences. Religion was a relationship between man and his Maker, independent of civil society. Let not the rights of the subject be spoken of, as if they sprang from the law. No, they existed before the law; they constituted its foundation; and could not be abolished by it. That the coronation oath should

militate against those rights, was impossible : it could not make penalties eternal. It could not oblige his Majesty to be *a sworn enemy* to the franchises of his people. It could not sanction such an appeal to the Creator! — Where was the danger of granting civil immunities to the catholics? The prosperity of Ireland might be said to commence with the relaxation of the penal code. Religious animosities have been the bane of Ireland. By her own laws, Ireland has made a scourge for herself. Why stop short in the career of liberality and justice? The *question was vital.*”

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After dwelling with patriotic ardour on sentiments so noble, and so salutary, it excited the deepest chagrin to find this eloquent speaker avowing his opinion, “that the boon of emancipation could not with prudence be conceded, but on one or other of two alternatives. 1st, The adoption of the *veto*; or 2dly, that of domestic nomination. He himself was favourable to the *veto*; which he thought not at all hostile to the catholics; but their opinion he acknowledged to be different, and he did not believe they would agree to it. The next mode then was by domestic nomination; for he had no hesitation in declaring that while foreign nomination was insisted on

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as essential, the prayer of the petition was *wholly inadmissible!*" Thus was the torch of discord re-kindled at the very altar of peace. Whence the necessity, it was said, of new and odious precautions against unimpeached loyalty?—loyalty unstained, unquestioned, during the long reign of intolerance, of bigotry, and oppression? When this question was first agitated in the session of 1805, who conceived the cobweb-security of the *veto* to be the indispensable requisite of catholic emancipation? "Let us not deceive ourselves," said at that time Mr. Fox in his celebrated speech in support of the motion, "it is not *possible* that permanent advantage can arise from any measure, except that which shall restore the catholics to *the full enjoyment of equal rights* with their fellow citizens." The motion of Mr. Grattan was seconded by sir John Hippisley Coxe, an able, active, and zealous friend to catholic emancipation; but who upon this occasion entered into an elaborate defence of the *veto*. The debate was prolonged by adjournment in a manner which shewed the sense entertained of its importance; but the motion was finally negatived by the great majority of 214 to 109. A similar motion brought forward in the upper house by the earl of Donoughmore met the same fate.

On the 21st May, Mr. Brand, the truly patriotic member for Herts, revived the original motion of Mr. Pitt, "that a committee be appointed to enquire into the state of the representation." After much debate, there appeared for the motion 115, against it 234 members.

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1810.
Mr. Brand's
Motion on
Parliament-
ary Reform.

On the 13th June, lord Grey, at the close of an eloquent speech, moved an address to the King on the state of the nation, which excited a very animated debate; but the motion was at length negatived by 134 to 72 peers; and on the 21st of the same month, the parliament was prorogued.

Earl Grey's
Address to
the King.

The earl of Chatham having found it expedient, in consequence of the investigation of the house of commons respecting the Walcheren expedition, to resign his office of master of the ordnance, was succeeded by lord Mulgrave, and Mr. Yorke placed at the head of the admiralty. But the county of Cambridge refused to return him again to parliament. During the late session died Mr. Windham, a man more distinguished for parts and eloquence of a peculiar and eccentric kind, than his reputation for discretion, or judgment.

Changes in
Adminis-
tration.

The battle of Ocana left no Spanish armies in the field which could cope with those of France. About the middle of January (1810) the marshals Soult, Victor, and Mortier, ra-

Military
Operations
in Spain.

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1810.

rived at the passes of the Sierra Morena, which they quickly forced, and took possession of the cities of Jaen and Cordova. At the same time, Grenada threw open its gates to general Sebastiani, who also, after a sharp contest, captured the important town of Malaga. Seville itself, though strongly fortified, capitulated to marshal Victor on the 10th February. In that city were found vast stores of ammunition and provisions. But the supreme junta had previously removed their sittings to the isle of Leon, near Cadiz. In the height of these successes, Joseph Bonaparte had issued a manifesto representing the contest as now decided, and menacing in a high tone those who continued in revolt.

Spanish
Govern-
ment fixes
at Cadiz.

Cadiz seemed now the last refuge of Spanish independence. Hitherto the supreme junta, recollecting doubtless the fate of Gibraltar, had refused to admit the British troops into that impregnable fortress; but the necessity of the case overcoming all scruples, the united fleets of Spain and Britain were moored in the harbour, and British engineers with supplies both of men and stores, received with eagerness for its protection. The duke d'Albuquerque also, who commanded in Estremadura, threw himself with his whole force into the isle of Leon.

Long before their removal from Seville, marquis Wellesley had urged upon the supreme junta the propriety, and necessity, of convoking the Cortes; to which proposition they had given a slow and reluctant consent, fixing, at length, so distant a period as March 1st, for the meeting of that great national assembly. In the letter of lord Wellesley to the junta, dated September 8, 1809, he says, "The intention of assembling the Cortes was announced in the month of May, and it is with the deepest regret that I witness any course of proceeding tending to procrastinate." He then advises "that the same act by which the regency shall be appointed, and the Cortes called, shall contain the principal articles of redress of grievances, correction of abuses, and relief of exactions in Spain and the Indies; and also the heads of such concessions to the colonies, as shall secure to them a full share in the representative body of the Spanish empire." This was counsel worthy of a British statesman.

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1810.

Resolve to
convene the
Cortes.

To a summons from marshal Soult, the duke of Albuquerque, governor of Cadiz, replied "that Cadiz had nothing to fear." The French occupied the shores of the bay, where they raised works for their own protection; and the sea being open to their antagonists, the siege

Siege of
Cadiz.

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1810.

French
Successes
in Cata-
lonia.

proceeded very slowly. Fort Matagorda was, however, reduced after a defence of two months; but it was too far distant from the city, and the shipping, to be of much service to the besiegers.

On the eastern side of Spain, where marshal Suchet commanded, the strong fortress of Ostalric was taken early in the year; the Spanish general O'Donnell being defeated under its walls. Lerida, Mequinenza, and Tortosa, were successively captured; but Valencia, which was once more invested, made a furious sally upon the assailants, who withdrew in great confusion. Though the regular armies of Spain seemed no longer in existence, the war of the guerillas, that is, of the armed and trained peasantry, was carried on with implacable animosity and increasing effect. They every where attacked the detached parties of the enemy, and harassed all the movements of the invaders; they intercepted their convoys, their escorts, and dispatches, so that the French could at no time, by the mere capture of towns and fortresses, be said to be in possession of the surrounding country. The regular forces also of the kingdom, however dispersed, were still numerous; and though Spain in this war had produced no "great

captain," no Gonsalvo, it abounded in valiant and active officers.

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1810.
Operations
in Portugal.

The most interesting events of this campaign occurred on the side of Portugal. After the reduction of Oviedo and Astorga by marshal Ney, the command was transferred to marshal Massena, by whom in the month of June the trenches were opened before Ciudad Rodrigo. The siege continued till near the middle of July, when the explosion of a mine making a practicable breach, the garrison, struck with terror, surrendered prisoners of war. Almeida was next invested, and for some time vigorously defended; but a bomb unfortunately alighting upon the principal magazine of powder in the citadel, involved all around in sudden destruction. General Massena embraced the opportunity to offer honourable terms of capitulation, which were accepted without farther hesitation.

Lord Wellington, who commanded the allied army, unable to prevent these disasters, slowly retired in the direction of Lisbon; adopting in his route, the severe, however necessary policy, of laying the country waste; all persons holding communication with the enemy being by proclamation declared traitors. General Massena, who followed with difficulty through a

Allies retreat to
Lisbon.

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1810.

Battle of
Busaco.

desolated tract, found the allies strongly posted, September 26th, on the heights of the Sierra Busaco, extending north of the Mondego. A bloody encounter ensued, which terminated in the complete repulse of the French. The wonderful effect of military discipline was on this occasion conspicuous in the behaviour of the Portuguese troops, who, led on by marshal Beresford, rivalled the valour of the British.

General Massena, after this check, took the circuitous route to Coimbra, where he established his hospitals; while lord Wellington entered the lines of Torres Vedras; which by the foresight of the English commander, were now rendered impregnable. They occupied a space of about twelve leagues from the sea to the Tagus, the country to the south of which was open to him. He had also an easy communication with the capital, and being joined by a body of 10,000 Spaniards under general Romana, he might bid defiance to the enemy. Marshal Massena, after reconnoitring the position, contented himself with confronting the British lines, adopting measures of defence, rather than offence. Here he received intelligence of the recapture of Coimbra by the Portuguese general Silviera. In November, the French commander fell back to Santarem,

awaiting his expected reinforcements; which soon afterwards entered Portugal under general Gardanne, forming, with the main army, a line on the right bank of the Tagus.

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1810.

The Cortes of Spain, so long expected and so long delayed, assembled at Cadiz on the 24th September 1810. The members were elected by the provinces and cities, in a mode which bore an equitable relation both to population and property; and the elections took place even in the districts of which the fortresses were in the occupation of the French. The first measure of the Spanish legislature was to swear fealty to Ferdinand VII. as their true and lawful sovereign; declaring totally null and void the renunciations of Bayonne, as extorted by violence, and without the consent of the nation. The next step was to appoint a regency, consisting of general Blake, the most popular of their commanders, don Pedro Agar, a naval officer high in reputation, and don Gabriel Ciscar, governor of Carthagena; and in them was vested the executive power.

Spanish
Cortes
convened.

In the *instructions* published early in the year by the supreme junta, the grand objects of assembling the Cortes are said to be, “the salvation of the country, the restoration of their sovereign, and the *re-establishment* of an ameliorated constitution, worthy of the Spa-

Instruc-
tions of the
Supreme
Junta.

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1810.

nish nation ;” and the Cortes soon evinced that they well understood not their duties only, but their rights, and knowing, were resolved to maintain them. Great discretion, nevertheless, was necessary in the exercise of those rights. By one of their first decrees the press was declared free ; “ *except* that all writings on matters of religion, shall remain subject to the same control they have been under since the council of Trent :” thus, from the necessity of circumstances, associating religious intolerance with political liberty. Yet were there in no country persons of more enlightened patriotism than many of the Spanish ecclesiastics ; and in the discussion which preceded the decree establishing the freedom of the press, Torrero, an individual of this class, had distinguished himself by a most eloquent speech in support of the measure.

State of
Spanish
America.

The conduct of the supreme junta respecting America had not been marked either by wisdom or justice. Soon after the commencement of the war between Great Britain and Spain, at the close of the year 1804, the celebrated general Miranda, an American by birth, had applied to the British government for an armed force which might both induce and enable the Spanish colonies in South America to emancipate themselves from the dominion

of the mother country. But not meeting with encouragement in England, he embarked for the United States; and by great exertion succeeding in fitting out a small armament from New York, he disembarked with some hundreds of his adventurous followers in the province of Caraccas, where he set up the standard of independence; but no symptoms appearing of the enthusiasm which he had vainly imagined, he was soon compelled to retreat to Trinidad.

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On the French invasion of Spain in 1808, all the Spanish provinces in America had proclaimed Ferdinand VII. with zeal and unanimity. At Buenos Ayres only, a French agent was received by governor Linieres, who exhorted the people to imitate the example of their ancestors during the war of the Succession, by awaiting the fate of the mother country: but this temporizing policy was counteracted by the spirit of the inhabitants.

As the affairs of Spain, nevertheless, soon began to wear a gloomy aspect, the Spanish American colonies were perceived to be agitated by two opposing parties; the royalists, who adhered to the government acting in the name of Ferdinand VII. and the republicans, who sought for independence on the plan of the United States. The latter

Republic of
Venezuela
establish-
ed.

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gained ground in proportion to the progress of the French army; and on the 19th of April (1810), the great and flourishing province of the Caraccas with the surrounding districts formed a union, under the name of the republic of Venezuela; and general Miranda was invited to take the command of their forces. Solicitous to ascertain the sentiments of the British government, application was made for that purpose; and a public declaration of his Majesty's intentions was communicated by the earl of Liverpool, in a letter dated June 29th (1810), stating "that his Majesty must discourage every step tending to separate the Spanish provinces in America from the mother country; but if Spain should be compelled to submit to the yoke of the common enemy, he should feel it his duty to afford every assistance to those provinces, in rendering them independent of *French* Spain." But the supreme junta, even when besieged in the isle of Leon, maintained the haughty language of sovereignty, and treated the republic of Venezuela as in a state of rebellion.

Holland
united to
France.

Holland had been long a mere appendage to the French empire; but Louis Bonaparte, the nominal king, had ventured to remonstrate against various of the oppressions and exac-

tions of Napoleon, which gave extreme offence; insomuch that in the month of June this year, notice was given to the Dutch government, “that it was necessary Amsterdam should be placed in the military occupation of the French.” This was followed by the immediate abdication of Louis. But even before the act of abdication could be known, Napoleon issued an edict (July 9th,) from the palace of Rambouillet, declaring Holland to be united to France, and Amsterdam the third city in the empire. This was confirmed by an *organic senatus consultum*; which, moreover, decreed that the Hanse Towns, Lawenburg, and the whole territory extending from the north sea to the Elbe, shall form an integral part of the French empire; and that the said territory, including Holland, shall form ten departments: imperial courts of justice to be established at the Hague and Hamburg. Nearly at the same time, the Valais was united to France, under the name of the department of the Simplon; and through this district a magnificent road was made, forming an easy military communication with Italy: also, a portion of the Tyrol was united to the kingdom of Italy, under the name of the department of the Upper Adige: and lastly, the electorate of Hanover was annexed *for ever* to the kingdom of Westphalia.

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Other
Unions de-
creed.

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Prince of
Ponte-Corvo elected
Crown
Prince of
Sweden.

LAS Cases,
III. p. 173.

The fortune of the French emperor at this period, no less than his ambition, seemed to be unbounded. On the 29th of May, the prince of Augustenburg, presumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, died suddenly; and in August (1810) a diet was assembled at Orebro, to fill the vacancy. In consequence of a powerful letter of recommendation from the emperor Napoleon, the king of Sweden proposed the prince of Ponte-Corvo, marshal Bernadotte, as the person on whom he wished the choice to fall. This celebrated commander, who was of protestant extraction, had for a considerable time been placed at the head of the army of occupation in the electorate of Hanover, where the equity and moderation of his conduct had equalled the reputation of his talents. The king's nomination therefore was unanimously approved, and the prince was installed in due form on the 1st of November. Upon this occasion, he addressed an admirable speech to the diet; expressing in unaffected language his sincere gratitude for the high and unexpected honour conferred upon him, with his unfeigned wishes, that the reigning monarch would long afford him the advantage of learning from his conduct, the arduous and important lesson of government. "Sound policy," said this prince, "must have for its basis

justice and truth. Such are the principles of the king; they shall also be mine. I have had a near view of war, and its ravages; and I know that there is no conquest which can console a country for the blood of its children shed in a foreign land. Sweden has sustained great losses, but her honour is without attain. Let us submit to the decrees of Providence, and recollect that we possess a soil sufficient for our wants, and a sword to defend it." In the ensuing month, a declaration of hostility against Great Britain was issued. The pacific inclination of the court of Stockholm was, however, sufficiently apparent; and the war, to the disappointment of Napoleon, proved little more than nominal. The enmity of Denmark was indeed real, and great; but her power was circumscribed; and in the course of the summer, a British squadron took possession of the Danish isle of Anholt, situated in the sea called the Cattegat.

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War de-
clared
against
England.

The sanguinary contest between Russia and Turkey afforded no remarkable result. The Russians under marshal Kutosof, crossing the Danube, reduced divers fortresses on the right bank, and appeared to threaten Romania: but the grand vizier, at the head of an immense army, took a strong position in front of Adrianople. The grand seignor himself, leaving

Campaign
in Turkey.

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Constantinople, displayed the standard of Mahomet at the head of a second army near that capital. The province of Servia was, nevertheless, still in a state of successful revolt against the Turkish government, which was also assailed in Syria, by the insurrection of a sect of religious fanatics stiled Wahabees; who well knew the use of the sword, and were enemies alike to the cross and the crescent. Upon the whole, symptoms of internal debility, such as usually precede the fall of empires, were every-where visible.

Differences
with Ame-
rica in-
flamed.

The unfortunate differences between Great Britain and America had been much inflamed by the disavowal of Mr. Erskine's liberal and salutary, though, as it appeared, unauthorized concessions. Mr. Jackson had indeed been recalled, but with no mark of displeasure at his harsh and hostile mode of negotiating. On the first of May the American government passed an act providing "that if either Great Britain or France should modify its edicts, so as that they should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States; and the other nation should not within three months thereafter do the same; the restriction of intercourse should cease with the one and remain with the other." In the ensuing month

of August, Napoleon accordingly declared, “ that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked in relation to America from the 1st November, on condition that England should revoke her orders in council, or that the Americans would cause their rights to be respected.” The president Maddison, on this vague condition, formally declared (November 2,) “ that the French edicts had been revoked; and the restrictions *abrogated* on the part of America in respect to France, and *suspended* as to Great Britain: but to be revived in full force as to the latter, if on the 2d February next her orders in council should remain unrepealed—all British goods arriving after that time being subject to forfeiture.” Thus was the prospect of reconciliation unhappily clouded over.

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In February the famous settlement of Amboyna, with its dependencies, was surrendered to a British force from India: the capture of the isle of Banda followed: and on the opposite side of the globe, nearly at the same time with Amboyna, Guadaloupe, the last island remaining to France in that quarter, was reduced by an armament under general Beckwith and admiral Cochrane.

Capture of
Amboyna,
Banda, and
Guada-
loupe.

In the month of March an expedition sailed from Zante against St. Maura, one of the seven

Capture of
St. Maura;

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Of Bour-
bon and
Mauritius.

islands constituting the Ionian republic. The fortress defending it was carried by storm, and the garrison made prisoners of war.

About midsummer, an armament sailed from Madras, destined to the isle of Bourbon. Before the dispositions for an attack could be completed, an offer of capitulation was received, which was granted on honourable terms. The still more important island of Mauritius, unable to resist the joint efforts of a formidable naval and military force from India and the Cape, assented to a similar capitulation in December. Five large frigates, two captured Indiamen, many merchant-ships in the harbour, and a vast booty in stores and valuable commodities, fell to the lot of the victors.

French re-
pelled from
Sicily.

In the course of the summer, Joachim, king of Naples, effected a debarkation of troops in Sicily, to the amount of about 3500 men, to be followed by a much larger force ; but they were immediately attacked with such vigour by sir John Stuart, that in a short and sharp engagement, exclusive of the killed and wounded, 900 prisoners were taken, and the rest made a precipitate retreat to their gun-boats.

Civil Dis-
ensions in
India.

The various maritime expeditions sent from the ports of India proved the government of that country to be now in able and vigilant

hands. The short provisional administration of sir George Barlow, after concluding the general pacification with the native powers begun by lord Cornwallis, exhibited a continued scene of discord and confusion in the civil government. In the month of July 1806, a most serious insurrection of the sepoys broke out at Vellore, in consequence of the unparalleled imprudence of the governor-general in issuing an order prohibiting the men from bearing on their forehead the marks of their caste; and changing the form of the turban into that of a helmet; which excited a general suspicion that measures of compulsion were in contemplation for the purpose of converting them to Christianity. This mutiny was not quelled without much bloodshed; near 800 of the sepoys falling a sacrifice, and about 200 lives on the part of the regular troops employed in this service.

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Mutiny at
Vellore.

Discontents also ran very high in all ranks of the English army, in consequence of certain reductions of the customary allowances, and other novelties, arbitrarily and harshly enforced by the governor-general, till the aspect of affairs became truly threatening; so that, in the language of an officer of high rank in the King's service, colonel Stuart, "Every day's experience proved that the more coer-

Letter to
Sir G. Bar-
low by
Colonel
Stuart.

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cive the measure adopted, the more violent were the consequences." Happily the arrival of lord Minto, in the spring of 1807, superseded this weak, passionate, and distracted government; and under a wiser and better direction, all things eventually reverted to a state of just subordination.

National
Jubilee.

The close of the 50th year of the reign of King George the Third had been celebrated in the metropolis as a sort of second jubilee. The King's health, for his advanced period of life, was remarkably good; but he had for some time suffered under a heavy domestic affliction, caused by the dangerous and, as it proved, fatal illness of his youngest daughter, the princess Amelia. On one of his daily visits to this his favourite and beloved child a short time before her decease, she placed a ring on his finger enclosing a lock of her hair, as a farewell token. The agitated and anxious mind of the King sunk beneath the shock; nor was he afterwards found capable of transacting business. The princess expired November 2d, (1810). The parliament had been prorogued to the 1st of that month; and a commission prepared by the lord chancellor under an order in council for a further prorogation to the 29th, but as the sign manual was want-

ing, the two houses met on the day previously fixed.

The illness and inability of the King to open the session being announced, an adjournment of a fortnight was unanimously agreed to; and the members of both houses were summoned for the 15th instant. This was followed by a second adjournment to the 29th, and again by a third to the 13th December. The physicians, on examination before the lords of council, and afterwards before a committee of both houses, accorded in their firm belief of his Majesty's recovery; grounding this expectation on the general state of the King's health; and the encouraging precedents of 1788, 1801, and 1804. At length, on the 20th December, Mr. Perceval, adopting the mode of procedure of 1788-9, moved three resolutions, affirming, I. The incapacity of the King; II. The right of the two houses to provide the means of supplying the defect; III. The necessity of determining upon the means of giving the royal assent to a bill for this purpose. The opposition, waving altogether the question respecting the right of the prince of Wales to the regency, merely proposed that the prince be addressed to take upon him the executive duties. This was negatived in the house of

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Indisposi-
tion of the
King an-
nounced.

Resolu-
tions of
Parliament
thereupon.

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peers by 100 to 74; in the commons by 269 to 157 voices.

In both these methods of proceeding, the prince's right being affirmed by none, the two houses in effect appoint the regent. Such being the case, the procedure by bill appears preferable, as founded on recent as well as antient precedent; as sanctioned by the voice of the nation; and as deriving legal validity from the use of the great seal. The weighty argument in favour of the prince's claim, from the possible variance of the British and Irish legislatures, had happily vanished with the union of the kingdoms.

Regency
Bill passed.

The resolutions moved by Mr. Perceval having passed by great majorities, that minister apprized the prince by letter, of the restrictions he meant to propose; and in a brief reply, the prince referred to the celebrated letter addressed by him to Mr Pitt in 1789. The other members of the royal family also transmitted to Mr. Perceval their unavailing protest against the restrictions, as wholly unconstitutional. The grand division on the question of restrictions was carried December 31st in favour of ministers, by 224 to 200 voices. The regency-bill finally passed into an act, February 5th, 1811. The restrictions were

to remain in force to the 1st of February 1812, and then to expire provided the parliament had at that time been sitting six weeks; an amendment moved by lord Grenville, limiting their duration to the 1st of August 1811, being negatived by 139 to 122 peers. The restoration of the King was provided for by a simple notification to the privy council, by the queen and her assistant counsellors, viz. the two archbishops, the lord chancellor, the lord chief-justice, the master of the rolls, the duke of Montrose, and the earls of Winchelsea and Aylesford.

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From the avowed sentiments and predilections of the prince, it was universally expected that a total change of administration would have taken place at the commencement of the regency; and the regent himself, in a letter to Mr. Perceval, announcing his intention of continuing the present ministers in office, explicitly stated, “that duty and affection for his beloved and afflicted parent made him unwilling to do a single act which might retard his recovery; and that this consideration *alone* had dictated his decision; *adding* that his Majesty’s restoration to health would rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment. So strong, indeed, at this period was

Ministers
continue in
Office.

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the prepossession respecting the King's recovery, that the whig leaders themselves were believed to be indifferent, if not averse, to the acceptance of office, at the hazard of being dismissed at the end of a few weeks or months.

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